

The functioning of the interim government was far from smooth with animosity between the Congress and the League growing by the day. The League refused to take part in the Constituent Assembly that met on December 9th, 1946. The breaking point occurred when the League demanded the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly due to its lack of representation. The Congress members of the Interim Government **demanding the resignation of League members** in a letter sent to Wavell on 5 February 1947. An emergency was imminent. Finally, **Attlee announced in British Parliament** on 20 February 1947 that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948 and that **lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell as viceroy**.

## ATLEE'S STATEMENT

Clement Attlee, the British prime minister, sensing the trouble all around, made an announcement on February 20, 1947. The **British House of Commons declared the British intention of leaving the Indian subcontinent**.

## MAJOR FEATURES OF ATLEE'S STATEMENT

- **Deadline for Transfer of Power**- The government fixed **June 30, 1948** as deadline for transfer of power even if the Indian politicians had not agreed by that time on the constitution.
- **Scheme of Power Transfer**-The British would transfer power either to some form of central government or in some areas to the existing provincial governments if the constituent assembly was not fully representative (i.e., if the Muslim majority provinces did not join).
- **Princely States**-British powers and obligations vis-a-vis the princely states would lapse with transfer of power. However, these Princely States would not be transferred to any successor government in British India.

## CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE STAND

The **Congress responded** to the League with a cooperative gesture. Nehru appealed to Liaquat Ali Khan, saying, "The British are fading out of the picture and the burden of this decision must rest on all of us here." It seems suitable that we approach this issue head-on and refrain from speaking from a distance. Congress **approved the transfer of power to multiple centers** for the following reasons:

- The provision meant that the existing assembly could proceed with drafting a constitution for the regions it represents, and
- It provided a way out of the current tussle with the Muslim League.

However, **Jinnah's response to Attlee's remark was entirely different**. He was confident that he only needed to maintain his position in order to accomplish his objective of Pakistan. In any case, the declaration made it clear that power would be transferred to multiple authorities if the Constituent Assembly failed to become fully representative, i.e. if the provinces with a Muslim majority did not join. The League initiated a **campaign of civil disobedience in Punjab**, which led to the **collapse of the coalition government led by Khizr Hayat Khan of the Unionist Party**.

When **Mountbatten arrived in India**, he found a situation that was relatively difficult to solve. The League was preparing for war, and **Jinnah refused to accept anything less than a sovereign Pakistan**. Thus, **Mountbatten** came up with a definite plan for partition.

## MOUNTBATTEN PLAN (JUNE 3, 1947)

**Mountbatten** was charged with the task of winding up the British Raj in the Indian sub-continent by 30th June 1948. **Mountbatten was directed by the British government to explore the options of unity and division (between Congress and League) till October, 1947**, after which he was to advise the government on the **form transfer of power should take**. However, Mountbatten found himself



unable to move Jinnah from his stand of sovereign Pakistan. Thus, Mountbatten came up with a plan known as Mountbatten Plan on the 3rd June, 1947. The Plan involved **splitting up Punjab** into West and East (where the west would go to Pakistan) and similar **division of Bengal** wherein the Western parts will remain in India and the East become Pakistan. Immediate effect was given to the plan by enacting the **Indian Independence Act (1947)**.

### MAJOR POINTS OF THE PLAN

- **Partition-Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would meet in two groups**, Hindus and Muslims, **to vote for partition**. If a simple majority of either group voted for partition, then these provinces would be partitioned.
- **Scheme**-In case of partition, two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be created.
  - ♦ **Sindh would take its own decision.**
  - ♦ **Referendums in NWFP and Sylhet district of Bengal would decide the fate of these areas.**
- **Agreement to Congress Demands**-Except for the Congress demand of a unified India, all their other demands would be met, namely,
  - ♦ **Independence for princely states ruled out**—they would join either India or Pakistan;
  - ♦ **Independence for Bengal** ruled out;
  - ♦ **Accession of Hyderabad** to Pakistan ruled out;
  - ♦ India would get freedom on **August 15, 1947**; and
  - ♦ **A boundary commission** would be set up if partition was to be effected.

### Indian Independence Act (1947)

- **Ended the British rule**: It ended the British rule in India and declared India as an independent and sovereign state from August 15, 1947.
- **Partition of India**: It provided for the partition of India and creation of two independent

dominions of India and Pakistan with the right to secede from the British Commonwealth.

- **Abolished the office of Viceroy**: It abolished the office of Viceroy and provided, for each dominion, a governor general, who was to be appointed by the British King on the advice of the dominion cabinet.
- **Empowered the Constituent Assemblies**: It empowered the Constituent Assemblies of the two
- **Dominions**:
  - ♦ to frame and adopt any constitution for their respective nations
  - ♦ to legislate for their respective territories
- **Abolished the office of the Secretary of State**: It abolished the office of the Secretary of State for India and transferred his functions to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs.
- **Two Independent Dominions**: The **Act provided for the creation of two independent dominions** of India and Pakistan with effect from August 15, 1947. **Each dominion would have a governor-general** to be responsible for the effective operation of the Act. The constituent assembly of each dominion would exercise the powers of the legislature of that dominion. The **existing Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of States** would be automatically dissolved.
- **Scheme for Transitional Period**: Till a new constitution was adopted by each dominion, the **governments of the two dominions would be carried on in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935.**

### Note:

As per the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Pakistan became independent on August 14 while India got its freedom on August 15, 1947. M.A. Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. However, India decided to request Lord Mountbatten to continue as the Governor-General of India.



### Plan Balkan

Between March and May of 1947, Mountbatten decided that the Cabinet Mission Plan had become untenable and formulated an alternative plan. This plan envisaged the transfer of power to separate provinces (or to a confederation, if formed before the transfer), with Punjab and Bengal given the option to vote for partition of their provinces. The various units thus formed along with the princely states (rendered independent by lapse of paramountcy) would have the option of joining India or Pakistan or remaining separate. The plan was quickly abandoned after Nehru reacted violently to it.

### Concessions to both the Congress and the League

The plan included both Congress and League concessions. India would be divided, but in a way that preserved maximum unity. The League's demand would be met by establishing Pakistan, but it would be as small as possible to accommodate the Congress's position on unity. Since Congress made the greater concession, i.e., it gave up its vision of a unified India, the British upheld all of its other positions. For instance, Mountbatten supported the position of the Congress that princely states should not have the option of independence. Mountbatten realized that retaining the goodwill of the Congress was crucial if he wished to convince India to remain a member of the Commonwealth.

The 3rd June Plan indicated that power would be transferred to India and Pakistan on the basis of their dominion status by the 15th of August 1947 in order to preserve India's membership in the Commonwealth, even if only for a short time.

Congress was willing to accept dominion status because it was the only way to immediately assume complete power and control the communally explosive situation. Officials from the United Kingdom were pretty apathetic about preventing the communal situation from deteriorating further. In

his statement to the Viceroy, Sardar Patel summed up the situation: "You won't govern yourselves, and you won't let us govern." The British had abdicated responsibility, and the advancement of the withdrawal date to August 15, 1947 emphasized this.

### IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

- **Voting on Partition:** In accordance with the plan, the respective legislative assemblies of Punjab and Bengal met in two sections for voting on partition. By simple majority, they decided in favour of the partition of the two provinces.
  - ♦ East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan; and
  - ♦ West Bengal and East Punjab remained with the Indian Union
- **Referendums:**
  - ♦ The referendum in Sylhet resulted in the incorporation of it in East Bengal.
  - ♦ The referendum in NWFP decided in favour of Pakistan.
  - ♦ Baluchistan and Sindh decided to stay with Pakistan.
- **Boundary Commission:**
  - ♦ The British government appointed two Boundary Commissions, once each for two provinces, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe.
  - ♦ Radcliffe, with very limited knowledge of India, and with the use of out-of-date maps and census materials, was required to draw the boundaries and decide disputed points within a period of six weeks.

### CONGRESS AND PARTITION

It was one thing for the League to demand Pakistan and the British to concede it because it was in harmony with the politics they had pursued.



But it was unusual from the side of the Congress, which had fought for India's unification for many years, to abandon this goal.

The Congress acceptance of Partition was the consequence of its **failure over the years to bring the Muslim masses into the nationalist mainstream** and since 1937, to stem the advancing tide of Muslim communalism. **By 1946** it was clear to the Congress leaders that the Muslims were behind the League as it had won 80 per cent Muslim seats in the elections. A year later, however, the inflection point was reached when the battle for Pakistan shifted from the ballot box to the streets. **Communal riots engulfed the country and the Congress leaders** concluded that Partition was a lesser evil than a civil war.

The **breakdown of the Interim Government** only confirmed the **inevitability of Pakistan**. Nehru remarked that **the Interim Government was an arena of struggle** and Sardar Patel, in his speech at the AICC meeting on 14th June 1947, drew attention to the fact that Pakistan was actually functioning not only in Punjab and Bengal but also in the Interim Government. Moreover, the Interim Government had no power to intervene in the provinces (even when the League ministry in Bengal was guilty not only of inaction but of complicity in the riots in Calcutta and Noakhali). Nehru realized that there was no point in holding office when "murder stalks the streets and the most amazing cruelties are indulged in by both the individual and the mob." **Immediate transfer of power would at least bring about a government that would have the power to fulfill its responsibilities.**

A further reason for accepting partition was that it eliminated the possibility of the country being "balkanized." The Congress had the backing of the Viceroy and, behind him, His Majesty's Government (the British government) in **denying the princely states** the option of independence. They were persuaded or compelled to join either the Union of India or Pakistan.

## INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

During 1946-47 there was a **new upsurge of the Princely State People's Movement demanding political rights and elective representation** in the Constituent Assembly. **Nehru presided over the All India State People's Conference sessions in Udaipur (1945) and Gwalior (April 1947).** He declared that the states refusing to join the Constituent Assembly would be treated as hostile.

In July 1947, **Vallabhbhai Patel took charge of the new States Department.** Under Patel, the **incorporation of Indian states took place in two phases with a skillful combination of baits and threats of mass pressure in both.** The rapid political unification of the country after independence was Vallabhai Patel's greatest achievement.

### Phase I

By August 15, 1947, **all states except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh had signed an instrument of accession with the Indian government.** These states acknowledged the central authority over defence, external affairs and communication. The princes agreed to for this integration easily because:

- They were 'surrendering' only what they never had (defence, external affairs and communication had been a part of the British paramountcy) and
- There **was no change in the internal political structure.**

### Phase II

The integration of the states along with internal constitutional changes in the second phase involved a much more difficult process. **The states that were integrated in this phase were-Kathiawar Union, Vindhya and Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan or Himachal Pradesh.** The **internal constitutional changes were made in Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin.** This phase was accomplished within a year.

Princes agreed for integration because some Princes were offered a **generous privy purse while some princes were made governors and rajpramukh in free India.**



## MASSACRES THAT ACCOMPANIED PARTITION

The tragedy of partition was exacerbated by the speed with which it occurred and by the delay in announcing the **Boundary Commission's decisions**. Mountbatten delayed the announcement of the **Boundary Commission Award** (despite the fact that it was complete by August 12, 1947) in order to disavow responsibility for additional complications. This resulted in confusion among both citizens and officials. People living in the villages between **Lahore and Amritsar** believed they were on the correct side of the border and remained in their homes. Migrations became inevitably frenetic, frequently culminating in massacres.

Instead of exercising their authority to maintain order, the officials were preoccupied with their own transfers.

This was conceded by none other than Lockhart, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from 15th August to 3rd December 1947.

## CRITICAL EVENTS FROM 1909 TO 1947 LEADING TO PARTITION

- The British's first step in severing **Hindu-Muslim unity** was the partition of Bengal in 1905. The Morley Minto reforms' later implementation in 1909 proved to be a turning point in the fight against colonial rule in India.
- The reforms established a system in which Muslim voters may only cast ballots for Muslim candidates in seats designated for Muslims. The British desired to promote the notion that the political, economic, and cultural interests of Muslims and Hindus were clearly different.
- The **Montagu Chelmsford reforms** or the Government of India Act 1919 came up in addition to the reserved seats for Muslims.
- **With the advent of the Non-cooperation Movement** in 1919 and the **Khilafat issue**, Hindu-Muslim unity subsequently began to solidify.

- However, Following the **Chauri Chaura incident (1922)** where some British policemen were killed due to some action initiated by the participants of the Non-Cooperation movement, the movement itself was called off by Gandhiji.
- **The Muslim leaders felt betrayed** because their cause of revolting against the abolition of the Caliphate was left unfinished because the movement was halted.
- From that moment, the differences between Hindus and Muslims only grew over time and eventually became entirely incompatible.
- **Muhammad Iqbal** became the leader of the **Muslim League in 1930** and, for the first time, called for a separate Muslim state.
  - ♦ Muslims and Hindus, he argued, constituted two distinct nations and were therefore **incompatible**.
  - ♦ During this time, the **Congress opposed this theory** and advocated for a united India based on the unity of diverse religious groups.
- In addition, the **Communal Award of 1932** exemplified the British policy of divide and conquer. This policy enhanced the provisions for separate electorates.
- **In 1940, at the Muslim League conference** held in **Lahore, Jinnah declared**, "Hindus and Muslims have different religions, philosophies, social customs, and literature. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a numerical majority, must lead to growing discontent and the ultimate destruction of any fabric that may have been established for the government of such a state."
- **In 1942, the Cripps Mission** proposed that India be granted **Dominion status** within the British Empire.



- The Mission did not accept the demand for Pakistan, but it did permit a provision whereby Indian Union provinces could secede.
- Congress and the Muslim League, however, interpreted this in distinctive ways.
- Eventually, on August 16, 1946, Jinnah proclaimed **Direct Action Day** and the Muslim League pushed for Pakistan's independence.
- There were **communal tensions** between Hindus and Muslims in areas such as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, and Punjab.
- Mountbatten supported the Muslim League's demand for an independent Pakistan in 1947, but he also thought the Congress's call for unification had some justification.
- The British government asked him to explore options of creating a united India or the option of partition. Because the unity was difficult to maintain, the two different dominions, India and Pakistan, were created in 1947.

## BIRTH AND SPREAD OF COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

To look upon the communal problem in India merely as the Hindu-Muslim question or of religious antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims is misleading. The communal problem at its base was more politically-motivated than religiously oriented. Apart from the Hindus and the Muslims there was a third party in the communal triangle; the British rulers interposed themselves between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus created a communal triangle of which they remained the base.

## REASONS FOR GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

Communalism grew in the modern economic, political, and social institutions where new identities were emerging in a haphazard manner even as the old, pre-modern identities had not diminished. A clash of this fundamental dichotomy gave rise to a communal ideology.

## British and their Divide and Rule

The strongest arm of the communal triangle was the British rulers. They were neither the true friends of the Muslims nor the foes of the Hindus; they were the true friends of British Imperialism and acted on the tested and tried maxim of Divide et Impera.. **Lord John Elphinstone**, Governor of Bombay (1853-60), wrote in a minute, "Divide et Impera was the old Roman motto and it should be ours". **Sir John Strachey**, another eminent British civilian, wrote: "The existence, side by side, of hostile creeds among the Indian people is one of the strong points in our political position in India."

## Interest of British to support Hindus

Until the seventies of the 19th century it suited the Imperial interest to support the Hindus and they did it. The **early British economic and educational policies benefited the Hindus more than the Muslims**. The British looked upon the Muslims as chief conspirators in the Revolt of 1857. The **Wahabi movement**

**confirmed their suspicion**. The British Government deliberately adopted the policy of suppressing the Muslims.

## British changed attitude towards Muslims

However, a change in British policy is perceptible towards the 1870s. The Hindus, politically more advanced than the Muslims, demanded more share for Indians in higher services, agitated for grant of political rights, introduction of representative government, etc. The Hindu posed a serious menace to the stability of British rule in India than the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims. This marked the beginning of a change in British policy towards the two communities.

## Communalism in writing of Indian History

British writers on Indian history also served the Imperial cause by initiating, developing and emphasizing the Hindu-Muslim approach in their study of Indian history and development of Indian



culture. This communal approach to Indian history, also imitated by Indian scholars, fostered the communal way of thinking.

For example, the ancient period of Indian history was described as **Hindu Period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim Period of Indian history**, implying thereby that religion was the guiding force behind politics during the whole of the Medieval period. True, both the rulers and the ruled, not un often used religious slogans to suit their material and political ambitions, but it was certainly a distortion of history to infer as was done by these writers that all Muslims were the rulers and all Hindus were the ruled.

In fact, the Muslim masses were as poor, if not more, as the Hindu masses and were thoroughly oppressed and exploited by the Muslim rulers and their Hindu collaborators.

### Communal side-effects of Religious Reform Movements

The religious reform and revival movements both Hindu and Muslim of the 19th century contained some mutually **contradictory aspects**. These movements were launched to **purge Hinduism and Islam of irrational and obscurantist tendencies** but these generated some unhealthy tendencies. The early nationalists made conscious efforts to remove minority fears. **Dadabhai Naoroji**, presiding over the second Congress session (1886), declared the intentions of the Congress not to raise socio-religious questions in its forums. In 1889, the **Congress decided not to take up any issue opposed by the Muslims**. But later, with the coming of militant nationalism, a **distinct Hindu nationalist tinge was palpable in the nationalist politics**. For instance, **Tilak's Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and anti-cow slaughter campaigns created much suspicion**.

The **Wahabis' crusade against all non-Muslims and aim to establish Dar-ul-Islam** (the world of Islam) was odious to Hindus as **Dayanand's slogan of Aryanisation of India and aim of Shuddhi** (conversions of non-Hindus to Hinduism) were

unpalatable to Muslims. Even Vivekananda's references to ancient Indian achievements as constituting the real Indian spirit popularized to give a sense of Pride and National Identity to a demoralized nation—created a reaction in the Muslim mind who turned to Western Asian history for a tradition and identity.

### Communal Reaction by Majority Community

The minority communalism met with a reaction from the majority community. From the 1870s itself, some **Hindu zamindars, moneylenders, and middle-class professionals began to give expression to anti-Muslim sentiments**. They went to the extent of declaring that the British had liberated the land from Muslim tyranny and saved the Hindus from the oppression by Muslims. The cause of Hindi was given a communal colour by saying that Urdu was the language of the Muslims (which was not historically quite correct). The one-upmanship of different versions of communal tendencies was a factor which deterred any effective counteroffensive against communalism.

### Socio-economic Reasons

- **Religion not a unifying factor:** Hindu's and Muslim's economic and political interests were not determined by their religion. The language, culture, caste, social standing, eating and dressing habits, social activities, and customs of one group, which included both Hindus and Muslims, varied from those of another community. A Bengali Muslim has far more in common with a Bengali Hindu than with a Punjabi Muslim, both groups having evolved common social and cultural practices.
- **Muslims and Hindus exploited equally:** Additionally, Muslims and Hindus also experienced similar levels of tyranny and exploitation under the British Empire. Muslim intellectuals remained archaic and primitive, not absorbing modern Western philosophy or scientific concepts. Even when reformers succeeded in bringing modern education to Muslims, the percentage of educated Muslims



was still far lower than that of Hindus, Parsis, or Christians. The Muslims also lagged behind as participants in the growth of trade and industry. As the number of educated persons and men of trade and industry among the Muslims was rather small, it was easy for the reactionary big landlords and the richer classes to continue to wield influence over the Muslim masses. Landlords and zamindars, whether Hindu or Muslim, supported the British rule out of self-interest. But, among the Hindus, the modern intellectuals and the rising commercial and industrialist class had taken over the leadership from the old order of landlords.

- **Lack of career opportunity for educated Muslims:** The educated Muslims had limited career or entrepreneurial prospects, so they naturally went for work in government. The educated Muslim leaders were incited against the educated Hindus by British authorities and loyalist Muslim leaders. On the one hand, **Syed Ahmad Khan** and others wanted preferential treatment for Muslims in terms of government employment, but on the other, they assured the Muslim population that the British would reward educated Muslims for their loyalty by giving them government posts and other special privileges. Some devoted Hindus and Parsis made the same claims about their own communities, although they made up a tiny minority.
- **Rampant Unemployment:** Because of the economic backwardness of India and rampant unemployment, there was ample scope for the colonial government to use concessions, favors, and reservations to fuel communal and separatist tendencies. Also, modern political consciousness was late in developing among the Muslims and the dominance of traditional reactionary elements over the Muslim masses helped a communal outlook to take root.
- **Oblivion to the communal subjugation:** There was talk of Hindu nationalism and Muslim nationalism. Politically immature, many Hindus as well as Muslims did not realize that the

economic, educational, and cultural difficulties they were experiencing were born out of their subjection to foreign rule and because of economic underdevelopment. With the rise of nationalism, communalism appeared around the end of the 19th century. It proved to be a huge threat to the unity of the Indian people and the national movement. The legacy, unfortunately, continues.

## EVOLUTION OF THE TWO-NATION THEORY

Following independence from the British Empire, the Indian subcontinent was strongly affected by the two-nation theory, a religious nationalist concept. From a social and moral standpoint, Muslims should be permitted to have a **separate homeland outside of India**, where Islam is the dominant religion, and be separated from Hindus and other non-Muslims.. This is because this theory holds that **Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, each with their own customs, religion, and traditions**. The All India Muslim League's two-nation theory served as the cornerstone of the Pakistan Movement, which sought to establish Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in India's northwest and east, beginning with the partition of the country in 1947.

**Religion playing the deciding role: Muhammad Ali Jinnah** among Muslims and **V D Savarkar** among Hindus undertook the notion that religion is the defining factor in defining the identity of Indian Muslims, and **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar** referred to it as the awakening of Muslims for the foundation of Pakistan. The expulsion of all Muslims from India, the establishment of a legally Hindu state in India (which is currently secular), the prohibition of conversions to Islam, and the encouragement of conversions or reconversions of Indian Muslims to Hinduism are some of the causes it inspires. It also serves as inspiration for a number of Hindu nationalist organizations.

**From Separate Electorate to Separate State:** In its endeavor to speak for Indian Muslims, the All-India Muslim League believed that the Muslims of



the subcontinent were a unique and independent nation from the Hindus. They initially called for separate electorates, but as soon as they asserted that Muslims would not be secure in an India dominated by Hindus, they started calling for a separate state. The League proposed that Muslim-majority regions achieve self-determination in the form of a sovereign state that would provide minorities in these Muslim-majority regions equal rights and protections. Many academics contend that an elite class of Muslims in colonial India, rather than the average person, was responsible for the creation of Pakistan through the partition of India. A large number of Islamic political parties, religious schools, and organizations opposed the partition of India and advocated a composite nationalism of all the people of the country in opposition to British rule (**especially the All India Azad Muslim Conference**).

**Gap among Hindu-Muslim Widened:** On the other hand, some historians points out that it was

not an élite-driven movement alone, who are said to have birthed separatism , but that the Muslim masses participated into it massively because of the religious polarization which had been created by Hindu revivalism towards the last quarter of the 19th century, especially with the openly anti-Islamic Arya Samaj and the whole cow protection movement, and “the fact that some of the loudest spokesmen for the Hindu cause and some of the biggest donors to the Arya Samaj and the cow protection movement came from the Hindu merchant and money lending communities, the principal agents of lower-class Muslim economic dependency, reinforced this sense of insecurity”, and because of Muslim resistance, “each year brought new riots” so that “by the end of the century, Hindu-Muslim relations had become so soured by this deadly roundabout of blood-letting, grief and revenge that it would have taken a mighty concerted effort by the leaders of the two communities to repair the breach.



In this Unit an attempt is made to familiarize you with the constitutional, administrative and judicial developments made by the Colonial government in India. The Act of 1858 ended the Company rule and the system of Double Government by Board of Control in England and the Court of Directors of the company introduced by the Pitt's India Act, 1784. **Indian Administration came directly under the Crown.** The Act created the office of the Secretary of State who was a cabinet minister in the British cabinet.

The various changes introduced by the **Act of 1858** were formally announced by a proclamation of Queen Victoria. The Queen felt that such a document should lead to feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration. It assured the native princes their rights, dignity and honour.

## THE CROWN RULE (1858–1947)

### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1858

In the aftermath of the Revolt of 1857, also known as the First War of Independence or the "sepoy mutiny," this significant act was passed.

#### Features of the act are-

- **Administration under Crown Rule:** India was to be governed by and in the name of the Crown. The Act of 1858 ended the Company rule and the system of Double Government by Board of Control in England and the Court of Directors of the company introduced by the Pitt's India Act, 1784. Thus Indian Administration came **directly under the Crown.**
- **Viceroy of India:** The act changed the designation of the **Governor-General of India to that of Viceroy** of India. He (Viceroy) was the direct representative of the British Crown in India. Lord Canning, thus, became the first Viceroy of India.
- **Secretary of State for India:** The Act created the office of the **Secretary of State who was a cabinet minister in the British cabinet.** His

salary and establishment was paid from the Indian revenue. He was assisted by a **council of fifteen members** to make him familiar with Indian affairs.

### Assessment of the Act

With the end of the East India Company, British Parliament lost much interest in Indian affairs and the Secretary of State for India became the defacto government of India. He had overriding powers over the Council in deliberations, appointments and the supremacy of Home government over the Government of India as firmly established. The enlightened Indian opinion always criticized the constitution and functioning of this council.

### INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1861

The advance made by the Indian Councils Act 1861 over the 1858 Act was mainly in the inclusion of a number of non-official members in the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

#### Features of the act are-

- **Representative institutions:** It provided that the Viceroy should nominate some Indians as non-official members of his expanded council. In 1862, **Lord Canning**, the then Viceroy, nominated three Indians to his legislative council—the **Raja of Benaras, the Maharaja of Patiala and Sir Dinkar Rao.**
- **Process of decentralization:** It initiated the process of decentralisation by restoring the legislative powers to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. **Law Making:** laws were to be made after due deliberation, and as pieces of legislation they could be changed only by the same deliberative process. Law-making was thus no longer seen as the exclusive business of the executive.
- **Foundations of cabinet government in India:** The portfolio system introduced by Lord Canning laid the foundations of cabinet government in India, each branch of the administration having its official head and



spokesman in the government, who was responsible for its administration.

- **Empowered the Viceroy:** It empowered the Viceroy to issue ordinances, without the concurrence of the legislative council, during an emergency. The life of such an ordinance was six months.

### Assessment of the Act

The legislative councils established by the Act of 1861 possessed **no real powers and had many weaknesses**. The councils **could not discuss important matters** and no financial matters at all without previous approval of government. They had **no control over budget**. They could not discuss executive action. Final passing of the bill needed viceroy's approval. Even if approved by the viceroy, the secretary of state could disallow a legislation.

### Indian Councils Act, 1892

From the point of view of the Government, the Act of 1861 worked satisfactorily. But the period which followed saw a remarkable growth of national consciousness in India. A feeling rapidly developed that the people inhabiting the country had common interests, aspirations and destiny. In its very **first session the Congress** passed a resolution **demanding expansion of Central and provincial Legislative Councils** by addition of elected members and enlargement of their functions. These demands were reiterated in subsequent years.

### Features of the Act

- **Expansion of Legislative Council:** It increased the number of additional (non-official) members in the Central and provincial legislative councils, but maintained the official majority in them.
- **Enlargement of functions:** It expanded the roles of legislative councils and granted them the authority to discuss budgets and pose questions to the executive.
- **Principle of representation:** The **universities, district boards, municipalities, zamindars, trade bodies and chambers of commerce** were

empowered to recommend members to the provincial councils. Thus was introduced the principle of representation

- **Element of indirect election:** Though the term 'election' was firmly avoided in the Act, an element of indirect election was accepted in the selection of some of the non-official members.
- **Power of the legislatures:** The members of the legislatures were now entitled to express their views upon financial statements which were henceforth to be made on the floor of the legislatures. They **could also put questions within certain limits to the executive on matters of public interest after giving six days' notice**.

### Assessment of the Act

This Act was criticised at the 1892 and 1893 sessions of the Indian National Congress mainly because **principle of direct-election had not been introduced**. But the regulations proved liberal enough to enable many of the nationalist leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lalmohan Ghosh, W.C. Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerjee and Pherozeshah Mehta to enter the legislatures. The non-official members gave a good account of themselves in respect of their debating skills and their ability as legislators and took advantage of each opportunity to put forward the Indian point of view.

### INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1909 (MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS)

The promulgation of the Morley-Minto Reform of 1909 is to be seen in the background of a phase of turmoil and militant activities that followed the Indian Council Act of 1892. Early 1900s saw the beginning of what has been described as '**extremist' and revolutionary streams of the Indian National Movement** to which Curzon's policies substantially contributed. Some of the Moderate leaders, especially in Bengal, came out openly in support of the boycott and Swadeshi programme



of the Extremists. But they soon retreated and returned to the method of appeals and petitions. Moderates wanted the government to make some liberal gestures. The Moderate leaders became more hopeful when at the end of 1905 the Liberals came to power in Britain and **John Morley** (a man known for his Liberal views) became the Secretary of State for India. Also Lord Minto had succeeded Curzon as Viceroy in British India. Together they introduced the Indian Councils Act, 1909.

### Features of Act

- **Expansion of Legislative Council:** The **number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils was increased.** In the provincial councils, a non-official majority was introduced, but since some of these non-officials were nominated and not elected, the overall non-elected majority remained.
- **System of Representation:** The **elected members were to be indirectly elected.** The local bodies were to elect an **electoral college**, which in turn would elect members of provincial legislatures, who in turn would elect members of the central legislature. Some of the elected seats were reserved for landlords and British capitalists in India. Indians were permitted to vote for various legislative councils, but only according to their class and community.
- **Separate electorates:** Separate electorates for Muslims to vote for the central council were established for the first time. It meant that Muslims can select their separate leader through separate Muslim elections. Besides separate electorates for the Muslims, **representation in excess of the strength of their population was accorded to the Muslims.** Also, the income qualification for Muslim voters was kept lower than that for Hindus.
- **Power of Legislatures:** Powers of legislatures, **both at the center and in provinces, were enlarged and the legislatures could now**

**pass resolutions** (which may or may not be accepted), ask questions and supplementaries, and vote separate items in the budget though the budget as a whole could not be voted upon.

- **Indian member in the Executive Council:** **One Indian was to be appointed to the executive council of the viceroy** (Satyendra Sinha was the first Indian to be appointed in 1909).

### Issues with the Act

- **Indirect elections:** The Moderates and the country as a whole were disappointed by the 'constitutional' reforms of 1909. Most of the elected members in the legislative councils were still elected indirectly.
- **No real power to the legislative council:** The reformed councils still enjoyed no real power and remained mere advisory bodies. They also did not introduce an element of democracy or self-government. The undemocratic, foreign and exploitative character of British rule remained unchanged.
- **Encouraged Muslim communism:** The real purpose of the Morley-Minto Reforms was to divide the nationalist ranks and to check the growing unity among Indians by encouraging the growth of Muslim communalism. The reforms introduced the system of separate electorates under which Muslims could only vote for Muslim candidates in constituencies specially reserved for them.
- **Objection to responsible government in India:** Lord Morley made it clear that colonial self-government (as demanded by Congress) was not suitable for India, and he was against the introduction of parliamentary or responsible government in India. He said, "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it."



## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919 (MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS)

By 1916 all parties in India as well as Britain began to think that some changes in the structure of government were necessary. The aspirations of the Indians had also increased during this period. As a response to the political pressure in India during the war years and to buy support of Indians the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was introduced by the British.

### Features of Act

This Act was based on the **Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms**. Some important provisions of the Act were as follows:

#### At center

- **Bicameral legislature:** The **Indian Legislative Council at centre** was replaced by a bicameral system consisting of a Council of State (Upper House) and a Legislative Assembly (Lower House).
- **Directly elected members:** Upper and Lower house was to have a majority of members who were directly elected. So, direct election was introduced, though the **franchise was much restricted** being based on qualifications of property, tax or education.
- The **chief executive authority was the Governor-General**.
- The Governor-General could **introduce ordinances**. He could also certify rejected bills from the central legislature.
- The Viceroy's Executive Council was required to have eight members.

#### At Province

- **Dyarchy in the provinces:** The Act introduced dyarchy in the provinces. It basically means rule of the two i.e., **executive councillors and ministers**.
- The **Governor was the province's executive head**.

- The subjects in Provinces were separated into reserved and transferred lists.
- Along with his executive councillors, the Governor was **in charge of the reserved list**.
- The ministers were **responsible** for the topics on the transferred list.
- The provincial legislature was to have only **one house (legislative council)**.
- **Separation of provincial and central budgets:** The Act separated for the first time the provincial and central budgets, with provincial legislatures being authorized to make their budgets.

### Miscellaneous provisions

- **Appointment of High Commissioner:** A High Commissioner for India was appointed, who was to hold his office in London for six years and whose duty was to look after Indian trade in Europe.
- **Secretary of State to be paid by the British Exchequer:** The Secretary of State for India who used to get his pay from the Indian revenue was now to be paid by the British Exchequer.
- **Principle of communal representation:** The principle of communal representation was **extended with separate electorates for Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians, besides Muslims**.

### Issues with the Act

- **No Responsible Government at Center:** The Central Government was more representative and responsive but not responsible. The Governor General at the apex of administration. He had the following powers:
  - Of superintendence, direction and control over the entire administration.
  - He could overrule the decisions of his Executive Council. The executive councillors were virtually his nominees.



- He had full control over foreign and political department (department dealing with princely States in India).
- Every bill passed by the Central or Provincial Legislature needed his assent, in certain cases his prior assent.
- **Machinery of Dyarchy at the Provinces:** Dyarchy meant double government at the provinces. The division of subjects was illogical and therefore ineffective. 'Reserved' topics included irrigation, finance, police, the press, and justice.
  - The reserved subjects were really 'key' departments while transferred subjects were felt 'safe' even if placed in the Indian hands. The councillor in charge of reserve subjects was not responsible to the secretary of state British Parliament.
  - The ministers in charge of transferred subjects were responsible to the provincial legislature.
  - The Governor exercised effective powers over the whole administration through the Instrument of Instruction and Executive Business Rules
- **Limited Franchise:** Franchise was limited and given to the affluent people. In addition, the act encouraged a sense of community within a distinct electoral system.

### **SIMON COMMISSION**

Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon in November, 1927. All the seven members of the Commission were Englishmen who were members of British Parliament. Irwin declared that Indians had been excluded from the membership of Commission because they could not give an accurate picture of their capacity to govern to the Parliament and their judgement was bound to be coloured.

The aim of the Commission was to inquire into the working of provincial government, to examine how far the representative institutions were functioning satisfactorily and to draft the outlines for the future progress in establishing responsible government. The commission submitted its report in 1930.

### **Features of the report**

- **In provinces**
  - **Abolition of dyarchy:** The Commission proposed the abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces which should be given autonomy.
  - **Powers of the Governor:** The Governor should have discretionary power in relation to internal security and administrative powers to protect the different communities.
  - **Increase in members in Provincial legislative council**
- **At centre**
  - **Power of Governor General:** The governor-general was to have complete power to appoint the members of the cabinet.
  - **Parliamentary responsibility rejected:** The report rejected parliamentary responsibility at the centre.
  - **Complete control over the high court:** The Government of India should have complete control over the high court.
- **Other provisions of Simon Commission**
  - **Separate communal electorates should be retained** (and extended such electorates to other communities) but only until tensions between Hindus and Muslims had died down.
  - There was to be no universal franchise.
  - The commission accepted the idea of federalism but not in the near future.



- The commission suggested that a Consultative Council of Greater India should be established. It should include **representatives of both the British provinces as well as princely states**.
- The commission suggested that the **North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan** should get local legislatures.
- It recommended that **Sindh should be separated from Bombay** and **Burma should be separated from India** because it was not a natural part of the Indian subcontinent.
- It also suggested that the **Indian army should be Indianised** though British forces must be retained.

### COMMUNAL AWARD

On 16 August, 1932 MacDonald announced the proposal on minority representation, known as the 'Communal Award'. The award not only continued **separate electorates** for the Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans but also **extended it to the** Scheduled Castes (Depressed Classes).

**Gandhi** reacted strongly to the proposal of granting the right of separate electorate to the 'Depressed Classes'. He regarded the 'Depressed Classes' as an integral part of Hindu society. He had pinned his hopes for their welfare in the firm belief that the Hindus would extend full social justice to that section of society whom they had exploited for centuries and would fully integrate them within their fold. To persuade **Ambedkar** to accept his viewpoint on this question, Gandhi, then in the **Yarvada Jail**, resorted to a fast unto death.

The **Poona Pact was concluded** between Hindu leaders and Ambedkar, and approved by Gandhi, **on 25 September 1932** which dispensed with the separate electorates for the 'depressed classes' but almost doubled the number of reserved seats allotted to them.

### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

The Act marked a second milestone towards a completely responsible government in India.

#### **Features of the Act**

1. **An All India Federation:** It was to comprise all British Indian provinces, all chief commissioner's provinces and the Indian states (Princely states).
2. **Condition for the Federation:** The federation's formation was conditional on the fulfilment of:
  - States with allotment of 52 seats in the proposed Council of States should agree to join the federation.
  - Aggregate population of states in the above category should be 50 percent of the total population of all Indian states. Since these conditions were not fulfilled, the proposed federation never came up.

#### **Federal Level: Executive**

- The Governor-General was the pivot of the entire Constitution.
- Subjects to be administered were divided into reserved and transferred subjects.
- **Reserved subjects** such as foreign affairs, defence, tribal areas and ecclesiastical affairs—were to be exclusively administered by the governor-general on the advice of executive councillors.
- **Transferred subjects** included all other subjects and were to be administered by the governor-general on the advice of ministers elected by the legislature.
- Governor-general could act in his individual judgement in the discharge of his special responsibilities for the security and tranquility of India.

#### **Federal Level: Legislature**

- The bicameral legislature was to have an upper house (Council of States) and a lower house (Federal Assembly).



- The **Council of States** was to be a 260-member house partly directly elected from British Indian provinces and partly (40 per cent) nominated by the princes. The
- The **Federal Assembly** was to be a 375-member house partly indirectly elected from British Indian provinces and partly (one-third) nominated by the princes.
- The Council of States was to be a permanent body with one-third members retiring every third year. The duration of the assembly was to be 5 years.
- The three lists for legislation purposes were to be **federal, provincial and concurrent**.
- **Members of the Federal Assembly could move a vote of no-confidence** against ministers. The Council of States could not move a vote of no-confidence.
- **80 per cent of the budget was non-votable.**
- The **Governor-general had residuary powers**. He could (a) restore cuts in grants, (b) certify bills rejected by the legislature, (c) issue ordinances and (d) exercise his veto.
- The system of religion-based and class-based electorates was further extended.

#### Provincial Autonomy

- **Provincial autonomy replaced dyarchy.**
- Provinces were granted autonomy and separate legal identity.
- Provinces were freed from "the superintendence, direction" of the secretary of state and governor-general.
- Provinces **henceforth derived their legal authority directly from the British Crown**.

#### Provinces: Executive

- Governor was to be the **nominee and representative of the Crown** to exercise authority on behalf of the king in a province.
- The Governor was to have special authority over minorities, civil servants' rights, law and order, British business interests, partially excluded areas, princely states, etc.

- Governor could take over and run the government indefinitely.

#### Provinces: Legislature

- **Separate electorates** based on Communal Award were to **be made operational**.
- All **members were to be directly elected**. Franchise was extended; women got the right on the same basis as men.
- Ministers were to administer all provincial subjects in a council of ministers headed by a premier.
- Ministers were made answerable to and removable by the adverse vote of the legislature.
- Provincial legislature could legislate on subjects in provincial and concurrent lists.
- **40 per cent of the budget was still not votable.**
- Governor could (a) refuse assent to a bill, (b) promulgate ordinances, (c) enact governor's Acts.

#### Issues with the Act

The 1935 Act was an endeavor to give India a written constitution, even though Indians were not involved in its creation, and it was a step towards complete responsible government in India.

- **Rigid constitution:** the Act provided a rigid constitution with no possibility of internal growth. Right of amendment was reserved for the British Parliament.
- **Promoted separatist tendencies:** Extension of the system of communal electorates and representation of various interests promoted separatist tendencies—culminating in partition of India. The 1935 Act was condemned by nearly all sections and unanimously rejected by the Congress.
- **Lacked Federal spirit:** The nature of safeguards, residuary powers with the Governor General, composition of the Federal legislature make it clear that the Act provided a Federal form, but lacked Federal spirit.



### **CABINET MISSION PLAN (1946)**

- **Constituent Assembly:** The Mission recommended **setting up a Constituent Assembly** consisting of the representatives of all the major groups.
- **Membership-** Provincial assemblies would send **292 members to the constituent assembly**, while chief commissioner's provinces would send **4** and **princely states would send 93 members**.
- **Election-** The members of the Constituent Assembly were to be elected by those provincial assemblies by proportional representation. This was through voting among three groups—General, Muslim, and Sikhs.
- **The Federal Formula:** The Cabinet Mission was convinced that **Pakistan was not viable and thus recommended a federal constitutional structure for a united India**.
- **Provincial autonomy-** The provinces should have full autonomy
- **Common centre:** A common centre would control defence, communication and external affairs.
- **Residuary Powers-** All the residual powers would belong to the provinces
- **Question on Communal Issue:** In the central legislature, communal questions were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting.
- **Three-tier executive and legislature** at provincial, section and union levels.
- **The Grouping:** To safeguard the minorities' autonomy within the framework of a united India, the Mission Plan grouped the existing provincial assemblies into the following three sections:
  - **Section A** — comprising Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, C.P., and Orissa
  - **Section B** — consisting of Punjab, NWFP, and Sind
  - **Section C** — Bengal and Assam

- In the Constituent Assembly, the three sections would meet separately to decide on group constitutions.
- After the first general elections, a province could come out of a group.
- After ten years a province could call for a reconsideration of the group or union constitution.
- **Princely States:** These states were no longer to be under the British government's paramountcy. They would be able to negotiate with successor governments or the British government.
- **Interim Government:** Meanwhile during this process, an interim government was to be formed from the constituent assembly.

### **EVOLUTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICES IN INDIA**

The civil service system introduced in India by the East India Company for the benefit of its commercial affairs evolved into a well-structured administrative system to manage the acquired territories in India.

The main job of the civil service was to translate law into action and the collection of revenue. The term '**civil services**' was used, for the first time by East India Company mainly to demarcate its civilian employees from the military and naval counterparts. The service was initially only commercial in nature but was later transformed into a public service. Gradually, the civil servants were bestowed with other responsibilities and authority.

#### **CIVIL SERVICES UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY**

##### **The Regulating Act of 1773**

- The Regulating Act of 1773 made a **clear distinction between the civil and commercial functions** of the company which resulted in a separate personnel classification.



- The commercial transactions of the company were to be kept separate from revenue and judicial administration, which were to be conducted by a separate class of servants.
- The Act also **prohibited private trading by all those civil servants responsible for collection of revenues or administration of justice**
- **The act forbade civil servants from accepting any gifts from the people.**
- The patronage principle which was in vogue in the recruitment of servants, was also **extended to promotions in the service**
- The Practice of nepotism in recruitments demoralised the civil services.

### The Pitt's India Act of 1784

- The Pitt's India Act of 1784 with regard to civil service laid down that the **vacancies in the Governor General's Council were to be filled by the covenanted civil servants.**
- The **Crown was given the power of removing or recalling any** servant of the company.
- The **Act for the first time laid down age limits for new entrants** in the service of the company.
- It fixed the minimum age for appointment to the post of writer at fifteen years and maximum at eighteen years.

### Charter Act of 1793

- It laid down that any **vacancy occurring in any of the civil offices in India "shall be filled from amongst the civil servants of the company belonging to the Presidency** in which such vacancies occurred". The **Act excluded outsiders from entering the service** even though they enjoyed patronage in England.
- The **Act tried to the morale of the civil service by making it a closed and exclusive service.**
- The **maximum age limit for appointment to the post of writer was raised to 22 years.**

### Cornwallis' (Governor-General, 1786-93) Role in Civil Services

Cornwallis tried to **check corruption in civil services through:**

- Raising the civil servants' salary,
- Strict enforcement of rules against private trade,
- Debarring civil servants from taking presents, bribes etc.
- Enforcing promotions through seniority.

### Wellesley's Role (Governor-General, 1798-1805)

In 1800, **Governor General Wellesley, established the college at Fort Williams (Calcutta) with the objective of training civil servants.** But this was not favoured by the Court of Directors. Finally, in **1806, the Court of Directors** decided to set up a **training institution at Haileybury** in England which was **accorded a statutory status by the Charter Act of 1813.** The writers (newly recruited members of the Company's Civil Service) nominated by the Court of Directors of the Company were required to undergo two years of training at the institution and pass an examination before they were confirmed as writers.

### Charter Act of 1833

- A **system of open competition through examination and adequate provision of education** and training of the civil servants was sought. However, the proposal of having open competition did not come into effect till 1853.
- A clause was inserted that granted to the company declaring that henceforth **fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility to the civil services irrespective of caste, creed or colour.**

Although the **Charter Act of 1833** theoretically **threw open the services to the Indians,** the relevant provisions **were never really implemented.** After 1857, when the Indians claimed a share in higher services, the Proclamation of 1858 declared the British intention of including the Indians, freely and impartially, in offices under the civil service.



### Charter Act of 1853

The 1853 Charter Act ended the Company's patronage, enjoining recruitment to be through an open competition henceforth. The Indians, however, were barred from high posts from the very beginning.

### IMPERIAL CIVIL SERVICE (1858-1917)

On the termination of the East India Company's Government in 1858, Indian administration came directly under the British Crown. The Government of India Act, 1858 vested the power of superior appointments of a political nature with Her Majesty (British Crown).

Her powers were exercisable by the Secretary of State for India, a Minister of Cabinet rank, who was to be assisted by an under-secretary and a council of fifteen members.

### The Indian Civil Service Act, 1861

- The Act stated that whether Indian or European, could be appointed to any of the offices (specified in the schedule annexed) if he had lived in India for a minimum of seven years.
- **Pass an exam in the vernacular language:** The individual was required to pass an exam in the vernacular language of the district in which he worked.
- **Reserved Services:** This Act also reserved certain offices for covenanted civil servants but the examination was held in England in English language, based on classical learning of Greek and Latin
- **Maximum permissible age:** The maximum permissible age was gradually reduced from 23 (in 1859) to 22 (in 1860) to 21 (in 1866) and to 19 (1878).
- In 1863, Satyendra Nath Tagore became the first Indian to qualify for the Indian Civil Service.

**Note:** The provisions of Indian Civil Service Act, 1861, did not satisfy the Indian public opinion and its growing demand for Indianisation of services. The Act virtually remained a 'dead letter' partly on account of the disinclination of authorities to give effect to it and largely because of the basic difficulty in implementing the recruitment requirements of the Act.

### Statutory Civil Service

In 1878-79, Lytton introduced the Statutory Civil Service consisting of one-sixth of covenanted posts to be filled by Indians of high families through nominations by local governments subject to approval by the secretary of State and the viceroy. But the system failed and was abolished.

### The Aitchison Commission on Public Services (1886)

When the Indian National Congress demanded lowering of age limit for recruitment and holding the examination simultaneously in India and Britain, Aitchison commission was set up by Dufferin.

The commission was expected to look into the question of employment of Indians not only in appointments, ordinarily reserved by law for members of the covenanted civil service but also in the uncovenanted service covering lower level administrative appointments.

The Commission recommended:

- dropping of the terms 'covenanted' and 'uncovenanted';
- It advised the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service
- classification of the civil service into Imperial Indian Civil Service (examination in England), Provincial Civil Service (examination in India) and Subordinate Civil Service (examination in India)
- **Imperial Indian Civil Service:** The superior posts were included in the imperial civil service and recruitment to it was to be made by the Secretary for State in Council.



- **Provincial Civil Service:** The provincial civil service was designated after the name of the particular province to which it belonged.
- **Subordinate civil service:** The lower level grades of the uncovenanted service were constituted into a subordinate service
- **Raising the age limit to 23.**

**Note:** In 1893, the House of Commons in England passed a resolution supporting holding of simultaneous examinations in India and England; but the resolution was never implemented. Kimberley, the secretary of state, said, "It is indispensable that an adequate number of members of civil service shall always be Europeans".

### CIVIL SERVICES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACTS, 1919 AND 1935

On 20th August 1917, E.S. **Montague**, the then Secretary of State in India, issued the historic declaration in the House of Commons announcing the British Government's new policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of British Empire".

In 1918, **Montague and Chelmsford** (the then Viceroy), both in their joint report on Constitutional changes, expressed supplementing the recruitment to civil services in England by fixing a definite percentage of recruits from India.

Series of reforms were introduced in civil services after 1917. Let's look at them one by one:

#### Montford (Montague and Chelmsford) Reforms (1919)

- **Threefold classification of service:** It also recommended a threefold classification of services into All India, provincial and subordinate. All the **Imperial services** then

functioning in the provinces were designated as the 'All India Services'.

- **Examination in India and England:** It recommended holding of simultaneous examinations in India and England.
- **Special safeguards:** Special safeguards were guaranteed to the members of All India Services in regard to dismissal, salaries, pensions and other rights.
- **Slow process of Indianisation:** It also recommended that one-third of recruitments be made in India itself—to be raised annually by 1.5 per cent.

**Note:** In 1922, the first competitive examination was held under the supervision of the Civil Service Commission. The Indian candidates selected on the basis of its results were put on probation for two years at an English University.

#### Lee Commission (1924)

- **Division of main services into three classes:** The Commission recommended the division of main services into three classes: (a) All India (b) central and (c) provincial.
  - The central services were those which dealt with the Indian states and foreign affairs, with administration of the state railways, posts and telegraphs, customs, audit and accounts, scientific and technical departments.
- **Powers of appointment:** The Commission recommended that the Secretary of State should retain the powers of appointment and control of the All India Services (mainly Indian Civil Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Medical Service, Indian Forest Service and Indian Service of Engineers) operating in the reserved fields of administration.
  - The recruitments for the transferred fields like Indian Educational Service, Indian Agricultural Service, and Indian Veterinary



Services etc. be made by provincial governments.

- **Establishment of the Statutory Public Service Commission:** A Public Service Commission be immediately established (as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1919). This was to maintain superior standards of recruitment by regulating the exercise of patronage.
- The Public service commission was to perform the functions of recruitment of personnel for the All India, central and provincial services,
- And also other quasi-judicial functions connected with discipline, control and protection of the service.
- Direct recruitment to Indian Civil Service on the basis of 50:50 parity between the Europeans and the Indians be reached in 15 years.

### Government of India Act, 1935

As the Act of 1935 introduced provincial autonomy under responsible Indian Ministers, the rights and privileges of the members of the civil services were carefully protected. The protection of the rights and privileges of the civil service was a special responsibility of both the Governors and the Governor General.

Some of the reforms introduced by it in regard to Civil Services were

- **Federal and Provincial Public Service Commission:** The Act provided for the setting up of a Public Service Commission for the federation and a Public Service Commission for each of the provinces, though two or more provinces could agree to have a Joint Public Service Commission.
- **Privileges:** It was provided that a civil servant was not to be dismissed from service by an authority below the rank of the officers who had appointed him. The salaries, pensions, and emoluments were not subject to the vote of the legislature.

- **Provincialized recruitment:** As a result of introduction of provincial autonomy under the Act, only three services i.e. Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service and Indian Medical Service were to continue as All India Service.
- Recruitment to other All India Services (Indian Agricultural Service, Veterinary Service, Educational Service, Service of Engineers, Forest) were provincialized, their recruitment and control coming under the provincial government.

## EVOLUTION OF JUDICIARY IN BRITISH INDIA

### JUDICIARY IN PRE-COLONIAL ERA

During pre-colonial times the judicial system, as a whole, neither adopted proper procedures nor had proper organization of the law courts—in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest—nor had any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them.

For Hindus, litigation was decided by caste elders or village panchayats or zamindars. For Muslims, the unit of judicial administration was the qazi (an office held by religious persons). It was located in provincial capitals, towns and qasbas (large villages). The rajas and badshahs were considered as the fountain heads of justice, and the process of dispensing justice could be arbitrary.

The building up of an adequate structure of Judiciary started taking shape only after British arrival.

### JUDICIARY UNDER BRITISH

#### Reforms under Warren Hastings (1772-1785)

##### District Diwani Adalats

- District Diwani Adalats were established in districts to try civil disputes.



- These adalats were placed under the collector and had Hindu law applicable for Hindus and the Muslim law for Muslims.
- The appeal from District Diwani Adalats lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat which functioned under a president and two members of the Supreme Council.

#### District Fauzdari Adalats

- District Fauzdari Adalats were set up to try criminal disputes and were placed under an Indian officer assisted by qazis and muftis.
- These adalats also were under the general supervision of the collector.
- Muslim law was administered in Fauzdari Adalats.
- The approval for capital punishment and for acquisition of property lay to the Sadar Nizamat Adalat at Murshidabad. It was headed by a deputy nizam (an Indian Muslim) assisted by chief qazi and chief mufti

#### Establishment of Supreme Court

- Under the Regulating Act of 1773, a Supreme Court was established at Calcutta.
- The Supreme Court was competent to try all British subjects within Calcutta and the subordinate factories, including Indians and Europeans.
- It had original and appellate jurisdictions.

#### Reforms under Cornwallis (1786-1793)

##### Circuit courts

- Circuit courts were established at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna by abolishing District Fauzdari Courts.
- The circuit courts had European judges and were to act as courts of appeal for both civil and criminal cases.

##### Sadar Nizamat Adalat

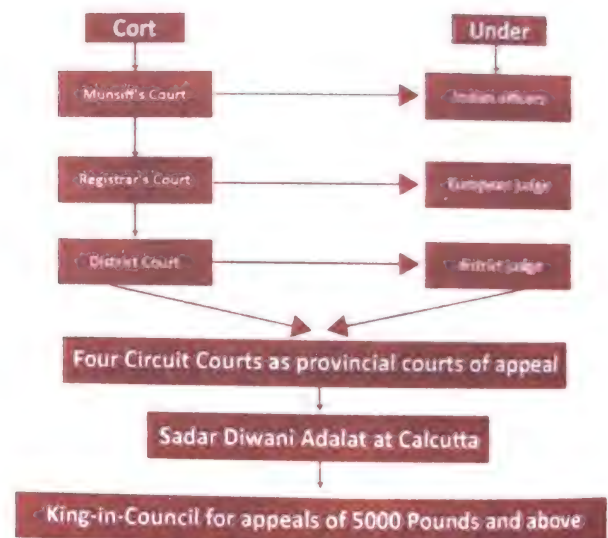
- The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was shifted to Calcutta and was put under the governor-general and members of the Supreme Council assisted by the chief qazi and the chief mufti.

#### District Diwani Adalat

- It was designated as the District, City or the Zila Court and placed under a district judge.
- The collector was now responsible only for the revenue administration with no magisterial functions. (separation of Power)

#### Gradation of civil courts

- Munsiff's Court under Indian officers,
- Registrar's Court under a European judge,
- District Court under the district judge,
- Four Circuit Courts as provincial courts of appeal,
- Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta, and
- King-in-Council for appeals of 5000 pounds and above.



#### Cornwallis Code

The Cornwallis Code laid out the following—

- There was a separation between the administration of revenue and justice.
- Additionally, European subjects were brought under jurisdiction.
- The civil courts held government officials accountable for actions taken in their official capacity.
- The principle of law's supremacy was established.



## Reforms under William Bentinck (1828-1833)

### Abolition Circuit Courts

- The four Circuit Courts were abolished and their functions transferred to collectors under the supervision of the commissioner of revenue and circuit.

### Establishment of Adalatsat Allahabad

- Sadar Diwani Adalat and a Sadar Nizamat Adalat were set up at Allahabad for the convenience of the people of Upper Provinces.

### Official Language

- The suitor had the option to use Persian or a vernacular language, while in the Supreme Court, English language replaced Persian.

### Law Commission

- A Law Commission was set up under Macaulay for codification of Indian laws. As a result, a Civil Procedure Code (1859), an Indian Penal Code (1860) and a Criminal Procedure Code (1861) were prepared.

### Later Developments

- 1860** It was provided that the Europeans can claim no special privileges except in criminal cases, and no judge of an Indian origin could try them.
- 1865** The Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalats were merged into three High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.
- 1935** The Government of India Act provided for a Federal Court (set up in 1937) which could settle disputes between governments and could hear limited appeals from the High Courts.

### Evaluation of Judiciary under the British

#### Positive Aspects

- The rule of law was established.
- The codified laws replaced the religious and personal laws of the rulers.
- Even European subjects were brought under the jurisdiction, although in criminal cases, they could be tried by European judges only.
- Government servants were made answerable to the civil courts.

#### Negative Aspects

- The judicial system became more and more complicated and expensive.
- The rich could manipulate the system.
- There was ample scope for false evidence, deceit and chicanery.
- Dragged out litigation meant delayed justice.
- Courts became overburdened as litigation increased.
- Often, the European judges were not familiar with the Indian usage and traditions.

## ADMINISTRATION CHANGES AFTER 1857

The Revolt of 1857 gave a serious setback to the British East India Company's administration in India. All sections of political opinion in England opined that the East India Company's economic & administrative policies were mainly responsible for the outbreak of the rebellion.

Therefore, after the rebellion, the British Government decided to end the British East India

Company's rule in India and to put the charge of Indian Administration under the direct rule of the British Crown. For that purpose, the British Parliament passed an act known as "The Act for the better Government in India," or "**Government of India Act, 1858**"

### THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP

- By the Act of 1858 India was to be governed directly by and in the name of the Crown through a Secretary of State in England.



- The **Secretary of State was to be assisted by a Council of fifteen members** of whom at least nine would have served in India for not less than ten years, and would have left India not more than ten years before their appointment to the Council.
- The Central administration in India continued to remain in the hands of the Governor General who was given the new title of **Viceroy**.
- An **executive council** was formed to help the Governor General. The members of the executive council were to act as the heads of departments and advisors to the Governor General.

### IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

- The **Indian Councils Act of 1861** enlarged the Governor-General's Council for the purpose of lawmaking, renaming it the Imperial Legislative Council.
- The Governor-General was authorized to add **between six and twelve members to his Executive Council**, of whom at least half had to be Indian or English non-officials.
- The Imperial Legislative Council **possessed no real authority** and should not be considered a simple or weak parliament. **It was merely a consultative body**. Without the prior approval of the government, it could not discuss any significant or financial measures at all.
- It **lacked authority over the budget**. It was not permitted to discuss the actions of the administration, nor were members permitted to ask questions about them.
- In other words, the **Legislative Council lacked authority over the executive branch**. In addition, no bill passed by the House could become a law without the approval of the Governor-General.
- In addition, the **Secretary of State may disapprove any of its Acts**. Therefore, the only significant function of the Legislative Council was to duplicate official measures and give

them the appearance of being passed by a legislative body.

- In theory, **the non-official Indian members of the Council** were added to represent Indian perspectives. The few Indian members of the Legislative Council were not elected by the Indian people, but rather nominated by the Governor-General, whose nominees were invariably princes and their ministers, large zamindars, large merchants, and retired senior government officials.
- They were absolutely unrepresentative of the Indian populace and the rising nationalist sentiment. As before 1858, the Government of India remained an alien despotism. This was not an accident, but a deliberate decision.

### PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

- The British had divided India for administrative convenience into provinces, three of which **Bengal, Bombay and Madras- were known as Presidencies**.
- The Presidencies were administered by a Governor and his **Executive Council** of three, who were appointed by the Crown.
- The other provinces were administered by **Lieutenant Governor and Chief Commissioners** appointed by the Governor-General.
- After 1883, the administration was strictly centralized. But the extreme centralization proved to be harmful to the Government, especially in the field of finance.
- The first step in the direction of separating central and provincial finances was taken in **1870 by Lord Mayo**.
- The provincial governments were granted fixed sums out of central revenues for the administration of certain services like police, jails, education, medical services, and roads and were asked to administer them as they wished.
- **In 1877, Lord Lytton transferred, to the provinces, certain other heads of expenditure**



like Land Revenue, Excise, General Administration, and Law and Justice.

- In 1882, all sources of revenue were divided into three- **general, provincial**, and those to be **divided between the Centre and the provinces**.

### LOCAL BODIES

- Financial difficulties led the Government to further **decentralize administration by promoting local government** through municipalities and district boards.
- **Local services** like **education, health, sanitation, and water supply** were transferred to local bodies that would finance them through local taxes.
- **The local bodies consisted of elected non-official members, presided over by an elected non-official chairman.**
- However, the local bodies functioned just like departments of the government as the Government retained the right to exercise strict control over the activities of the local bodies.

### MAYO'S RESOLUTION (1870)

- **Financial decentralisation** was a legislative devolution inaugurated by the Indian Councils Act of 1861.
- Apart from the annual grant from the imperial Government, the provincial governments were authorised to resort to **local taxation to balance their budgets**.
- This was done in the context of the transfer of certain departments of administration, such as medical services, education, and roads, to the control of provincial governments.
- **This was the beginning of local finance.**
- The Resolution emphasised that the Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary for success in the management of the funds

devoted to education, sanitation, medical relief, and local public works.

- The various provincial governments such as in **Bengal, Madras, North-Western Province, and Punjab**, passed municipal acts to implement the policy outlined.

### RIPON'S RESOLUTION OF 1882

Ripon desired that the provincial governments apply to local bodies the same financial decentralisation principle that Lord Mayo's government had initiated for them.

#### **The main points of the resolution were as follows**

- Development of local bodies advocated to improve the administration and as an instrument of political and popular education;
- The policy of administering local affairs through urban and rural local bodies charged with definite duties and entrusted with suitable sources of revenues;
- Non-officials to be in majority in these bodies, who could be elected if the officials thought that it was possible to introduce elections;
- Non-officials to act as chairpersons to these bodies;
- Official interference to be reduced to the minimum and to be exercised to revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not to dictate policies;
- Official executive sanctions are required in certain cases, such as raising of loans, alienation of municipal property, imposition of new taxes, undertaking works costing more than a prescribed sum, framing rules and bye-laws, etc.

### ROYAL COMMISSION ON DECENTRALISATION (1908)

Pointing out the lack of financial resources as the great stumbling block in the effective functioning of local bodies,



### The commission made the following recommendations

- It was emphasized that **village Panchayats should be given more authority, such as judicial jurisdiction in minor cases**, incurring costs for minor village works, village schools, small fuel and fodder reserves, etc.
- Panchayats should be provided with adequate** sources of revenue.
- It emphasized the **significance of establishing sub-district boards in each Taluka** or Tehsil, with separate spheres of responsibility and revenue sources for sub-district boards and district boards.
- It urged the withdrawal of existing restrictions on their powers of taxation, and also, the stoppage of regular **grants-in-aid** from provincial governments except for undertaking large projects.
- The municipalities might undertake the responsibility for primary education and, if willing, for middle vernacular schools, otherwise the Government should relieve them of any charges in regard to secondary education, hospitals, relief, police, veterinary works, etc.
- The Government of India Resolution of 1915 contained the official views on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, but most of the recommendations remained on paper and the condition of local bodies continued to be as it was left by Lord Ripon.

### THE RESOLUTION OF MAY 1918

- It **examined the entire issue of local self-government** in light of the announcement made on August 20, 1917, which stated that the future direction of constitutional progress would be toward the grant of responsible government to the people of India, and that the first step towards the progressive realization of

this ideal would be in the context of local self-government.

- It was suggested that local bodies be made as representative of the people as possible, with real rather than nominal authority.

### UNDER DYARCHY

- By the Government of India Act of 1919, local self-government became a **"transferred" subject under popular ministerial control**, and each province was permitted to develop local self-institutions according to provincial needs and requirements.
- But, since finance was a **'reserved' subject** under the charge of an executive councillor, the Indian ministers could not do much work in the sphere of local self-government for lack of funds.
- The **Simon Commission** (May 1930) **pointed out the lack of progress** of village Panchayats except in UP, Bengal, and Madras.
- The commission suggested the retrograde step of increasing provincial control over local bodies for the sake of efficiency.
- The commission also adversely commented on the reluctance of elected members to impose local taxes and observed that, generally speaking, the management of finances of local bodies had deteriorated since the introduction of the reforms of 1919.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935 AND AFTER

- Development of local self-governing institutions:** The provincial autonomy ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1935 gave further impetus to the development of local self-governing institutions in India.
- Portfolio finance** being under the control of popular ministries, now the funds could be made available for the development of local bodies.



- The **demarcation of taxation between provincial and local finance** which prevailed since the reforms of 1919 was scrapped.
- **More authority to local bodies:** New Acts were passed in the provinces giving more authority to local bodies. However, financial resources and the power of taxation of local institutions remained more or less at the same level as in the days of Ripon.
- **After 1935**, new limitations were placed on the authority of local governments to levy or increase terminal taxes on trades, professions, and municipal property.
- The provincial governments appear to have disregarded the **Decentralisation Commission's** recommendation that they grant local institutions enormous taxing authority.
- **The Constitution of Free India** instructs state governments to establish village Panchayats as efficient local self-government bodies (**Article 40**).
- **The Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Amendments** aim to close loopholes in the structure of rural and urban local self-governing institutions.

## POLICE SYSTEM

### ROLE OF CORNWALLIS

- Lord Cornwallis introduced the Daroga system in 1792, replacing zamindari thanedars under the direct control of the district head and on its payroll.
- Thanas (circles) in a district were placed under a daroga (an Indian) and a superintendent of police (SP) was appointed as the head of a district.
- At the village level, village Patels performed the functions, both revenue and police.

### ROLE OF MAYO IN POLICE SYSTEM

- In 1808, Mayo appointed an SP for each division.

- Each SP was helped by a number of spies (goyendas). These spies exploited and plundered local people.

**Note: 1814-** An order by the Court of Directors abolished the appointment of darogas and their subordinates in all regions of Company rule except in Bengal

### ROLE OF BENTICK IN POLICE SYSTEM

- William Bentinck was Governor-General of India during 1828-35.
- He abolished the office of the SP.
- He made the district collector/magistrate as the head of the police force in his jurisdiction.
- He made the commissioner in each division to act as the SP.

### POLICE COMMISSION (1860)

In 1860, the Government of India appointed a Police Commission. Major recommendations of the Commission were as follows:

- **Civil constabulary:** It recommended the establishment of a single homogenous force of civil constabulary. It was to maintain the village set-up in the present form (a village watchman maintained by the village) but to have a direct relationship with the rest of the constabulary.
- **Inspector General of Police:** It recommended that Inspector-general be the head in a province. He was to be assisted in his work at the district level by a District Superintendent (District head of police).

#### Note

- The police gradually succeeded in curbing criminal acts, such as dacoity, thuggee, etc. However, the police were unsympathetic while dealing with the public.
- The colonial government used the Police to suppress the national movement.
- The British did not create an All-India Police.



### **INDIAN POLICE ACT, 1861**

- The recommendations of the Police Commission (1860) were incorporated in the Indian Police Act, 1861.
- The Police Act presented the guidelines for the police set up in the provinces.
- It introduced ranks in Police uniformly all over the country.

**Note:** The Act was applied to all provinces except Bombay and Madras. Separate Police Acts were framed for these two provinces.

### **ANDREW FRAZER POLICE COMMISSION (1902)**

- The Commission recommended the establishment of CID (Criminal Investigation Department) in the provinces and a Central Intelligence Bureau at the Centre.



These newspapers were generally criticizing the policies and deeds of the East India Company. The officers of the East India Company were now concerned that these newspapers might reach London and expose their wrongdoings. They realized the need for press restrictions. Thus, the East India Company started regulating the press in India.

## ORIGIN OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

It was a Britisher who started the first newspaper in our country. On January 29, 1780 **James Augustus Hickey** launched the "**Bengal Gazette**". It has another title "**Calcutta Advertiser**". It was popularly known as "**Hickey's Gazette**". Following in Hickey's footsteps in 1780, the second newspaper was launched from Calcutta "**The Indian Gazette**". The "**Calcutta Gazette**" which started publication in 1784 and the "**Bengal Journal**" which was launched in 1785 were the third and fourth newspapers to come out from Calcutta. All these four papers were published in the English language. Slowly newspapers started coming out from other parts of the country also. The "**Madras Courier**" (1785) and "**Madras Gazette**" (1795) were started from Madras. From Mumbai, the "**Mumbai Herald**" was launched in 1789.

### Early Regulations

## CENSORSHIP AND REGULATIONS

**Bengal Gazette** was mostly devoted to exposing the doings and misdoings of the British East India Company staff. **Bengal Gazette** continued its criticism of British authorities. It published reports attacking the East India Company officials. Finally, the British East India Company confiscated the **Bengal Gazette** in 1782 and stopped its publication. Hickey was asked to leave the country. He was sent back to England.

The British East India Company did not consider freedom of the press as good for society. They tried to suppress the publication of newspapers. Since, **Bengal Gazette**, several other newspapers also came into existence in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in quick succession but they had a short life. The **East India Company** had now started taking a serious view of the contents of newspapers and imposed ruthless restrictions on the printing presses and editors. Censorship was introduced in Madras in 1795 when a newspaper entitled **The Madras Gazette** was required to submit for scrutiny all the material meant for publication. Similarly, in Bengal, several papers such as the **Bengal Journal**, **Indian World** and **Bengal Harkaru** had incurred the restrictions of the East Indian Company's authorities in one form or the other. Let us see some early regulations in Press:

Censorship of Press Act, 1799	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enacted by <b>Lord Wellesley</b>, anticipating French invasion of India.</li> <li>It imposed <b>wartime press restrictions</b> including pre-censorship.</li> <li>These restrictions were relaxed under <b>Lord Hastings</b>, and in 1818, Censorship of Press Act, 1799 was abolished.</li> </ul>
Licensing Regulations, 1823	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>John Adams</b> enacted this law.</li> <li>According to these regulations, <b>starting or using a press without licence was a penal offence</b>.</li> <li>Later on, the Act was extended to cover journals, pamphlets and books.</li> <li>Rammohan Roy's <b>Mirat-ul-Akbar</b> had to stop publication due to this regulation.</li> </ul>
Press Act of 1835 or Metcalfe Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Metcalfe repealed the 1823 ordinance. He is known as, "<b>liberator of the Indian press</b>". He introduced the Press Act, 1835.</li> <li>The new <b>Press Act (1835)</b> required a printer/publisher to give a precise account of premises of a publication and cease functioning, if required by a similar declaration.</li> <li>The result of a liberal press policy was a <b>rapid growth of newspapers</b>.</li> </ul>



**Licensing Act, 1857**

- Due to the **emergency caused by the 1857 revolt**, this Act imposed licensing restrictions in addition to the already existing registration procedure laid down by Metcalfe Act.
- The government reserved the right to stop publication and circulation of any book, newspaper or printed matter.

**Registration Act, 1867**

- This replaced Metcalfe's Act of 1835. It was of a **regulatory, not restrictive, nature**.
- Every book/ newspaper was required to print the name of the printer and the publisher and the place of the publication;
- A copy was to be submitted to the local government within one month of the publication of a book.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

**India's oldest newspaper: Mumbai Samachar (Bombay Samachar)**

**Mumbai Samachar (Gujarati daily)** is India's oldest existing newspaper which was once known as the **Bombay Samachar**. It **completed its 200 years in 2021**. It was established in 1822 by **Fardoonji Murazban**, a Parsi scholar. Its content was primarily about government and court announcements, trade, ships coming in and out of India and real estate. Significantly, the paper played its part in India's freedom struggle, covering events led by Mahatma Gandhi and the first Prime Minister of the country, Jawaharlal Nehru. Its editorial team and opinion pieces were known for their sobriety and independent writing. In fact, it is still respected for these traits.

**NATIONALISM AND THE INDIAN PRESS**

During the nineteenth century, apart from popular uprisings and revolts at the mass level, a new consciousness was developing in the educated Indians and middle classes. It was this middle class consciousness, which became the chief medium for the channelisation of popular discontent, and was instrumental in the development of national consciousness in India. The educated classes began to critically examine the Indian society and the awakened sections made all-out efforts for reforms.

These educated middle class had been attracted to modern civil rights, especially the freedom of

the Press. The middle class **started writing articles and publishing newspapers** to critically analyse the British policies and developing consciousness among the masses. The newspaper gave a tremendous boost and served as an effective instrument of the nationalist struggle against the British. It frequently transmitted the message of freedom to the masses of India and raised the public conscience against the repressive British regime, and its atrocities in India.

**From roughly 1870 to 1918, the early phase of the nationalist movement was primarily concerned with political propaganda and mass education.** In this regard, the press was a crucial instrument in the nationalists' arsenal. Even the **Indian National Congress** in its early days depended entirely on the press to propagate its resolutions and proceedings. Many newspapers emerged during this period. Some of them are: The Hindu and Swadesamitran, The Bengalee, Voice of India, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Indian Mirror Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English), Sudharak, Hindustan, Advocate, etc.

Nationalist newspapers were widely circulated and sparked a library movement. The influence of these newspapers was not restricted to urban areas. **These newspapers reached the most remote villages, where each news item and editorial would be thoroughly read and discussed in "local libraries."** The purpose of these libraries was not only political education, but also political participation. In these newspapers, government statutes and policies were scrutinized. They functioned as a government opposition institution.



## Newspaper and their Publisher

NEWSPAPER	PUBLISHED BY
The Hindu and Swadesamitran	G. Subramaniya Aiyar
The Bengalee	Surendranath Banerjea
Voice of India	Dadabhai Naoroji
Amrita Bazar Patrika	Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh
Indian Mirror	N.N. Sen
Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English)	Balgangadhar Tilak
Sudharak	Gopal Ganesh Agarkar
Hindustan and Advocate	G.P. Verma

## Newspapers area wise

NEWSPAPER	AREA
Tribune and Akbhar-i-am	Punjab
Gujarati, Indu Prakash, Dhyani Prakash, Kal, Kesari, Rast Goftar	Bombay
Som Prakash, Banganivasi, Sadharani, Indian Mirror, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Sambad Kaumadi, Udant Martand	Bengal.
Kerala Patrika, The Hindu, Swadesamitran	Madras
The Hindustan and Azad	UP

By 1877 there were as many as 169 newspapers in the vernacular languages. These newspapers became highly critical of Lord Lytton's administration especially regarding its inhuman treatment to victims of the famine of 1876-77. The Government then brought the Vernacular Press Act, 1878.

## VERNACULAR PRESS ACT, 1878

The Vernacular Press Act was enacted in British India to limit the freedom of the Indian-language

(non-English) press. It was enacted in order to "better control" the vernacular press and effectively punish and repress "seditious writing". It was enacted by Lord Lytton, in 1878.

When Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India" in 1857, nationalist leaders demanded a greater role in the conduct of government affairs in India. Along with the nationalist leaders, the vernacular press was also critical of the Government. Also, when Lord Lytton was appointed as viceroy of India, there was a strong public opinion against the imperialistic policies of Lytton. Lytton was highly criticized by nationalist leaders and the Indian press. The criticism of Lytton's policies got compounded by his lavish expenditure on the imperial Delhi Durbar as India was under the grip of Famine (1876-77). Lord Lytton, worried over the increasing impact of the writings in the press, enforced the Vernacular Press Act on March 1, 1878. The provisions of the acts are as follows:

1. Any district magistrate or a police commissioner was empowered to force the printer and publisher of a newspaper to agree not to publish certain kinds of material that could cause disaffection against the government or antipathy between persons of different religions, caste and race.
2. The printer and publisher could also be required to deposit security, which could be seized if the offences reoccurred.
3. District magistrate was also empowered to confiscate any printed matter it deemed to be objectionable.
4. The magistrate's action was final and no appeal could be made in a court of law.
5. A vernacular newspaper could get exemption from the operation of the Act by submitting proofs to a government censor



### Delhi Durbar 1877

The Imperial Delhi Durbar was an Indian imperial style mass assembly organized by the British in Delhi, to mark the succession of an Emperor or Empress of India. In 1876, Queen Victoria in addition to her title of 'Queen of Great Britain and Ireland' assumed the title of 'Empress of India'. The Viceroy, Lord Lytton was asked to proclaim this on her behalf throughout India. Lytton decided to hold an Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on 1st January 1877 for this purpose. All the Governors, Lt Governors, Heads of Administrations, Ruling Chiefs, Princes and Nobles were invited for this historic ceremony.

Two significant decisions taken at this Durbar were:

- The creation of the Privy Council
- The number of guns salutes the Viceroy and other chiefs were entitled to.

### Impact of the Act

- The Act got recognized as the "gagging Act." The worst aspects of this Act were— I the discrimination between English and non-English press and (ii) the lack of an appeals process.
- Proceedings were instituted against **Som Prakash, Bharat Mihir, Dacca Prakash and Samachar**. The **Amrita Bazar Patrika** turned overnight into an English newspaper to escape the VPA.
- Later, the **pre-censorship clause was repealed, and a press commissioner was appointed** to provide the press with authentic and accurate news.
- **Lord Ripon eventually repealed it in 1882 due to strong opposition.**

### LATER REGULATIONS

#### NEWSPAPER (INCITEMENT TO OFFENCES) ACT, 1908

It was aimed against Extremist nationalist activities. This Act empowered magistrates to

seize press property that published objectionable material that could incite murder/violence.

Tilak was tried for sedition and imprisoned for six years in Mandalay (Burma). This sparked nationwide protests. Textile workers and railway workshop workers in Bombay took on the Army in the streets and went on strike for days.

#### Indian Press Act, 1910

This Act re-established the most objectionable aspects of the Vernacular Press Act. Under this act, local governments were given the authority to demand a security at registration from the printer/publisher and forfeit/deregister an offending newspaper. Also the printer of a newspaper was required to submit two free copies of each issue to local governments.

In 1921, on the recommendations of a Press Committee chaired by **Tej Bahadur Sapru**, the **Press Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed.**

#### Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931

This Act gave provincial governments broad powers to suppress civil disobedience propaganda. It was expanded in 1932 to include all activities designed to undermine government authority.

### PRESS AND WORLD WAR I & II

From 1914 to 1947, the freedom struggle continued to gather momentum. The British Government was all too anxious to enlist the support of the press in its war efforts. The press was inclined to go along with the nationalists in their struggle for freedom.

#### WORLD WAR I

When the First World War broke out in 1914, the British government released nationalist leaders from jail, with a view to soliciting their support in the conduct of war. But several newspapers such as The Madras Standard, New India, Bombay Chronicle, and Maharatta took divergent stands. As a result, some 180 newspapers were asked to



play security deposits and assure support to the Government in' 1914- 1915.

## WORLD WAR II

Pre-censorship was imposed under the **Defence of India Rules**, and the Press Emergency Act and the Official Secrets Act were amended. Publication of all news related to Congress activity was declared illegal.

It was around this time that the **All India Newspapers' Editors Conference (AINEC)** came into being. The main objective of the AINEC at the time was "to preserve high traditions and standards of journalism; to safeguard the freedom of publication of news and comment; to represent the press in India in its relations with the public and the government."

### **Impact of Indian Press**

#### • **Tool of political education**

- ♦ Before independence the freedom of the press was of utmost importance as it was a powerful tool to propagate political ideas.

- ♦ Government acts and policies were put to **critical scrutiny through** newspapers. It imparted political education among youth.
- **Mobilization of Ideas**
  - ♦ The early phase of the nationalist movement, from around 1870 to 1918, focussed more on political propaganda and education, formation and propagation of nationalist ideology, training, mobilisation and consolidation of public opinion.
  - ♦ In later phases, the press helped disseminate revolutionary ideas, which contributed to the formation of an opposition to the British government.
- **Exposure of colonial interests**
  - ♦ The newspapers also **contributed to the dissemination of information about the extreme measures taken by the colonial government**, which incited further protests and revolutionary actions against the British.
  - ♦ It helped people realize that the British **are in India for their own interest** and not for the interest of Indians.

## **Evolution Of Indian press**



## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN BRITISH INDIA

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Developments in the education field during the colonial regime can be discussed under two different educational policies. The first is education under Company's rule i.e. policies followed by the East India Company. The second Category is development of education under British Crown rule. Let us discuss in detail.

### EDUCATION UNDER COMPANY RULE

For the first 60 years of its dominion in India the East India Company- a trading, profit-making concern took little interest in the education of its subjects. There were, however, two very minor exceptions to this policy. In 1781, Warren Hastings set up the **Calcutta Madrasah** for the study and teaching of Muslim law and related subjects. In 1791, **Jonathan Duncan started a Sanskrit College at Varanasi** for the study of Hindu Law and Philosophy.

Both these institutions were designed to provide a regular supply of qualified Indians to help the **administration of law in the courts of the Company**. Missionaries and their supporters and many humanitarians soon began to exert pressure on the Company to encourage and promote modern secular westernised education in India. While the humanitarians, including many Indians, believed that modern knowledge would be the best remedy for the social, economic, and political ills of the country, the missionaries believed that modern education would destroy the faith of the people in their own religions and lead them to adopt Christianity. A humble beginning was made in 1813 when the Charter Act incorporated the principle of encouraging learned Indians and promoting the knowledge of modern sciences in the country.

### Fort William College (1800)

Wellesley established Fort William College in 1800 to train Company civil servants in Indian languages and customs (closed in 1802).



## CHARTER ACT OF 1813

The Act directed the Company to spend the sum of **one lakh of rupees** for encouraging learned Indians and promoting knowledge of modern sciences in the country. However, the amount was not made available by the Company authorities till 1823. The provisions of the act were:

- **Encouraged learned Indians:** The Charter Act of 1813 incorporated the principle of encouraging educated Indians and advancing the country's understanding of modern sciences.
  - ♦ The act provided for **an annual expenditure of one lakh rupees** for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India.
- **Open the door for missionary activities:** The Charter Act **opened the shores of India to missionary societies**. As a result, the period from 1813 to 1833 was one of great mission activity in different parts of the Company's possessions.
- **Efforts by enlightened Indians:** Efforts of enlightened Indians such as Raja Rammohan Roy bore fruit and a grant was sanctioned for Calcutta College set up in 1817 by educated Bengalis, imparting English education in Western humanities and sciences.
  - ♦ The government also set up three Sanskrit colleges at Calcutta, Delhi and Agra.

After the charter Act 1813, a great controversy raged in India on the question of the direction that this expenditure of 1 lakh should take. **One section of opinion** wanted it to be spent **exclusively for the promotion of modern Western studies**. The other section desired that, while Western sciences and literature should be taught to prepare students to take up jobs, **emphasis should be placed on the expansion of traditional Indian learning**. Even among those who wanted to spread Western learning, differences arose on the **question of the medium of instruction** to be adopted in modern schools and colleges. Some recommended the use of Indian languages, called vernaculars at the

time, for the purpose, while others advocated the use of English. Unfortunately, there was a great deal of confusion on this question. Many people fail to distinguish between English as a medium and English as a subject for study and between Indian languages as a medium and traditional Indian learning as the main object of study. Thus, the question of how to spend this money on education became the **focus of at least three major schools of thinking**.

### Three major schools of thinking

**The Orientalists:** They believed that the ancient customs of the country and oriental learning ought to be the basis of British rule in India. **William Jones (1746–1794)**, the **founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal**, was the father of Orientalism in India

### DO YOU KNOW?

#### Asiatic Society

The Asiatic Society is the **oldest learning and research institution** on the entire Asian continent. It was **established in 1784** at the initiative of its Founder President **Sir William Jones**. Throughout the last two centuries, the society's name has changed several times, including the **Asiatic Society of Bengal (1832-1935)**, the **Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1936-1951)**, and in July 1952, the Asiatic Society.

By an Act of the Indian Parliament, the Asiatic Society has been designated as an Institution of National Importance since 1984. The library of the Asiatic Society is its most important asset and its importance lies in its rich and unique contents. Special mention may be made of the manuscript '**Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita**' in Newari script, an illuminated manuscript of the Quran, an old text of Gulistan and the manuscript of '**Padshanamah**' bearing an autograph of **Emperor Shahjahan**. In addition to this, the Society possesses a rare collection of **Tibetan xylographs**.

The museum of the Asiatic Society is also part of the library. The society still maintains a museum of its own which houses an **Asokan Rock Edict (250 B.C.)**



**The Anglicists:** The Anglicists believed that teaching should be based on a curriculum of western knowledge. Furthermore, the language of instruction ought to be English. The growing influence of utilitarian ideas on British thought in the 19th century was one source of strength for the Anglicists. **James Mill** was one of those who attacked the Orientalists. **Thomas Babington Macaulay** saw India as an uncivilized country that needed to be civilised. He said "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia".

**The Evangelists:** Evangelists were another group that believed that the task of education was to transform the Indian personality. The transformation that they wished to create, however, was a religious one. Until 1813, the Company had been very careful to keep missionaries at a distance from state activities. Missionary groups were often frustrated by the lack of support from the Company state and its Orientalist establishment. However, they remained an important lobby in England. Missionary activities in India took off after the Charter Act of 1813.

### Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy

The Anglicists within the General Committee on Public Instruction argued that government spending on education should be restricted to modern studies. While Western sciences and literature should be taught to prepare students for employment, the Orientalists advocated for the expansion of traditional Indian education. Even the **Anglicists were divided over the question of medium** of instruction—

1. One faction was for the English language as the medium,
2. While the other faction was for Indian languages (vernaculars) for the purpose

Unfortunately, there was a great deal of **confusion over English and vernacular languages** as media of instruction and as objects of study. The **two controversies were settled in 1835** when

the Government of India **decided to devote the money** to the teaching of Western sciences and literature through the medium of English language alone. Lord Macaulay, who was the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, argued in a famous minute (**Macaulay's Minute**) that Indian languages were not sufficiently developed to serve the purpose, and that "Oriental learning was completely inferior to European learning".

### Macaulay's Minute

Lord Macaulay favored teaching of Western sciences and literature through the medium of English language alone. His argument was based on the fact that Oriental learning was completely inferior to European learning and Indian languages were not sufficiently developed to serve the purpose of teaching of Western sciences and literature.

It is to be noted that, though Macaulay's views totally ignored India's past achievements in the realms of science and thought, he was on solid ground when he held European knowledge in the fields of physical and social sciences to be superior to the existing Indian knowledge. As Indian Knowledge in the fields of physical and social sciences had stagnated too long and lost touch with reality.

That is why the most **advanced Indians** of the time led by **Raja Rammohan Roy** advocated the study of Western knowledge, which was seen by them as "the Key to the treasures of scientific and democratic thought of the modern West.

The government soon made English as the medium of instruction in its schools and colleges and opened a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools, thus neglecting mass education. The British planned to educate a small section of upper and middle classes, thus creating a class "**Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect**" who would act as interpreters between the government and masses and would enrich the vernaculars by which knowledge of



Western sciences and literature would reach the masses. This was called the '**downward filtration theory**'.

It may also be pointed out here that even though education did not percolate downwards, modern ideas did to a large extent, reached to the masses through political parties, press, pamphlets, public platforms, etc. The political parties, the press, pamphlets, and public platforms helped in spreading ideas of democracy, nationalism, anti-imperialism and social and economic equality and justice among the rural and urban masses.

The **Secretary of State's Educational Despatch of 1854** was another important step in the development of education in India.

### **WOOD'S DESPATCH ON EDUCATION, 1854**

In 1854, Sir Wood, then president of the Board of Control of the Government of India, gave his official report, popularly known as Wood's Dispatch. The Despatch categorically declared: "The education that we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European knowledge." The Despatch asked the Government of India to assume responsibility for the education of the masses. It thus repudiated the "downward filtration" theory, at least on paper. In practice, the Government did little to spread education and spent very little on it.

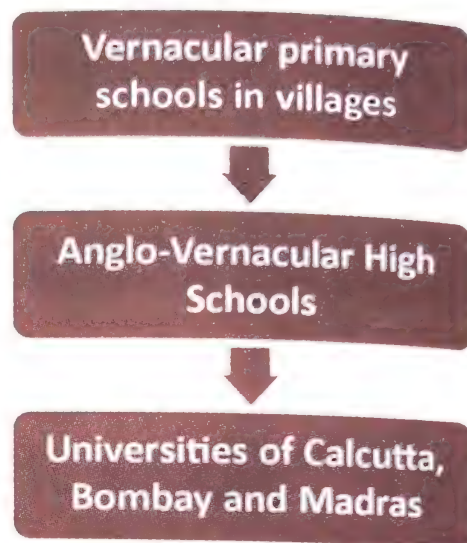
The dispatch was considered the "**Magna Carta of English Education in India**", as it was the first comprehensive plan for the spread of education in India.

**The chief provisions of the Despatch were:**

- **Rejected downward filtration theory:** It asked the **government of India to assume responsibility for education of the masses**, thus repudiating the 'downward filtration theory'.
- **Hierarchy of schools:** It systematised the hierarchy, with vernacular primary schools in villages at the bottom, Anglo-Vernacular

High Schools and an affiliated college at the district level, and affiliated universities in the presidency cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras at the top.

- It suggested **English as the medium of instruction** for **higher education** and local languages at the elementary level.



- It **emphasized female and vocational education**, as well as teacher preparation.
- It clearly stated that education provided by government institutions must be secular.
- It suggested a **grants-in-aid** system to encourage private enterprise.
- **Rapid Westernization:** The ideals and methods of Wood's Despatch led to the rapid westernization of the education system in India, with educational institutions run by European headmasters and principals. Missionary enterprises played their own part. Gradually, private Indian efforts appeared in the field.

### **Developments through Wood's Despatch**

As a result of the directions given by the Dispatch, **Departments of Education were instituted** in all provinces and **affiliating Universities** were set up in 1857 at **Calcutta, Bombay and Madras**. **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee**, the famous Bengali novelist,



became in 1858 one of the first two graduates of Calcutta University. The establishment of universities and the opening of education departments in the provinces provided a basic structure to modern education in India. In fact Wood's Despatch provided the model for the further development in education in India.

#### Initiative by the missionaries and some individuals to promote Western education

In Bengal some of the important colleges were established by the Christian missionaries. These missionary institutions did play a role in spreading western knowledge, though their basic object was to attract people to Christianity. Besides the missionaries some individuals played a significant role to promote English education in Calcutta. The **Native School and Book Society of Calcutta** was established to open schools in Calcutta and to train up the teachers for the indigenous schools. The establishment of **Hindu College (later Presidency College)** in Calcutta by David Hare and a group of local Hindu notables facilitated the promotion of secular education among Indians.

**J.E.D. Bethune** who was an ardent advocate of women's education founded a girls' school in Calcutta. He founded Bethune School in 1849. Among the Bengalis, **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** supported women's education. All these institutions obtained a positive response from the local people who strongly pleaded to the British for further expansion of educational opportunities.

In Bombay and Madras also missionary schools were established. In Bombay notable developments were the **Native Education Society** and the **Elphinstone institution** which played a role similar to the Hindu College of Calcutta. In Madras the Christian College was founded in 1837. In Uttar Pradesh the first English-medium College was founded at Agra in 1823. Thus by the 1850s we find that in most of the provinces in India the basis of modern education was laid down by the British.

### Bethune College

#### History

After **J. E. D. Bethune/ John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune** arrived in India in 1848, as a Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council, he was appointed president of the Council of Education. Bethune's posting allowed him to meet members of the **Bhramo Samaj**, who like him were also proponents of education for girls and women. In one of his meetings in the city, zamindar **Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee** gifted Bethune five and a half bighas of land for building a school that opened as '**Calcutta Female School**' in May 1849 with 21 girls on the roll. This institution became the **predecessor of the Bethune School**.

After opening the Calcutta Female School, Bethune then purchased a new plot of land belonging to the Government of Bengal in Cornwallis Square, adjacent to the **Calcutta Female School**, and established another educational institution for girls, called the '**Hindu Female School**' in 1849 with significant financial support from **Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee**.

In December 1850, Bethune appointed **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** as secretary to the school. Thirty years after its founding, the school became a college as Bethune College. While many teachers of Bethune College were Indian, the heads of the institution for the longest time remained English. Note: Bethune College became the **only institution** for higher education for women in Asia.

#### Role of Bethune College and its alumnae

Bethune College played a pivotal role in shaping women who called undivided Bengal their home, who fought for freedom from British rule. The list of alumnae of Bethune College who played a significant role in India's freedom struggle are **Kamala Das Gupta, Kalpana Dutta and Pritilata Waddedar, Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, Kadambini Ganguly and Chandramukhi Bose**.

Some women like **Kamala Das Gupta, Kalpana Dutta and Pritilata Waddedar** **took up arms** in their war against British rule and oppression. Some



Women like Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, Kadambini Ganguly and Chandramukhi Bose **urged literacy and education for girls** and **championed women's rights** and protections, paving the way for several reforms for girls and women in pre-Independence India.

#### First Women Graduate in India

Kadimbini Ganguly graduated from Bethune College in 1883. **She along with Chandramukhi Basu (also graduated in 1833 from Bethune College)** became the **first two women graduates** in the subcontinent. **Kadimbini Ganguly** was also the **first South Asian woman physician, with training in western medicine.**

#### Significant incident in the history of Bethune College

One of the most significant incidents in the history of Bethune College occurred when the **Simon Commission arrived in 1928**. Bina Das along with a group of fellow students, organised their first student protest against the Commission and faced threats from the college administration. Mrs. Wright, the English principal of Bethune College warned the students that if they didn't return to their classes, they would be expelled and their scholarships would be withdrawn. The students refused to comply and the agitation became so strong that it spread outside the college. **Mrs. Wright** was forced to resign from service and was compelled to leave the institution.

#### EFFORTS OF THOMSON

James Thomson, lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Provinces from 1843 to 1853, created a comprehensive plan for village education through vernacular languages. In these rural schools, subjects like measurement and agriculture sciences were taught.

## DO YOU KNOW?

#### IIT Roorkee (first engineering college)

IIT Roorkee, formerly known as **The Roorkee College** was established in 1847 AD as the first engineering college in the British Empire. It was established by lieutenant-governor of NW Provinces James Thomson. The College was renamed as Thomason College of Civil Engineering in 1854. The institute celebrated the **175th year of excellence on November 25, 2021**. On September 21, 2001, the university was declared an **institute of national importance**.

## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER CROWN RULE

In 1858, the British Crown took direct control of Indian territories. The **Government of India Act of 1858** transferred the East India Company's government and territories to the **British Crown**. British territories in India were transferred directly to the British government, ending the East India Company's rule over these areas.

Earlier education schemes neglected primary and secondary education in India. When education was shifted to provinces in 1870, primary and secondary education further suffered because the provinces already had limited resources at their disposal. The neglect of Primary and Secondary education existed till 1882 when the Indian Education Commission (**Hunter Education Commission**) was appointed. The Commission examined the status of state-sponsored education in each of the provinces and recommended providing a proper share of public funds for the same.

#### THE HUNTER COMMISSION (1882)

In 1882, the government of India appointed an **education commission** under the **chairmanship of W.W. Hunter** to enquire into the principles of Wood's Despatch and to make recommendations to the government for necessary changes of the education system.



Its main recommendations were:

- **State care required for primary education:** It emphasized the state's special care for the extension and improvement of **primary education** and the aims, methods, curriculum, and management were clearly defined.
- **Transfer of control of primary education** to newly set up district and municipal boards
- **Secondary education:** Secondary (High School) education should have two divisions—

1. **Literary:** leading up to university.
2. **Vocational:** for commercial careers.

- **Encouraging private enterprises:** The commission recommended encouraging private enterprises in the field of education with a grant aid system.
- Indigenous education was encouraged.
- **The commission mostly confined its remarks to secondary and primary education.**
- **Female education:** Commission also drew attention to inadequate facilities for female education, especially outside presidency towns and made recommendations for its spread.

In 1884, the report of the Commission was accepted. The management of primary education was transferred to the local bodies set up under the Local Self-Government Acts passed during the period. The Government also developed grant-in-aid codes to encourage private enterprise in the field of education. However there was a **spate of private colleges and secondary schools** which mainly functioned under private managements charging fees. More teaching-cum-examining universities were set up like the Punjab University (1882) and the Allahabad University (1887).

While the Colonial government showed concern for primary education on paper, there was a rapid growth of private schools and colleges. 'The indigenous schools in the countryside decayed and disappeared.

## INDIAN UNIVERSITIES ACT 1904

The early years of the 20th century was a period of growing nationalism in Indian people and disappointment in the educational policies of the British government. Under the **vicereignty of Lord Curzon**, things started happening in the field of education. He summoned the highest educational officers of the government throughout India and set up the **Raleigh Commission**.

### Raleigh Commission

- Raleigh Commission was set up to go into **conditions and prospects of universities in India** and to suggest measures for improvement in their constitution and working.
- The commission precluded reporting on primary or secondary education.
- Based on its recommendations, **the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904.**

### Indian Universities Act

The **Indian University Act was passed in 1904** to make universities set examples of quality by starting direct instruction and also making affiliation of colleges strict. All affiliated colleges were subject to periodic inspection. Provision of Indian Universities Act were:

- More emphasis on research and study in universities.
- Reduction in the number of fellows of a university and their period in office.
- The majority of fellows would be selected by the government.
- Government was to have veto power over university senate regulations, as well as the ability to amend or pass its own regulations.
- More stringent affiliation requirements for private colleges.
- Each year for the next five years, five hundred thousand rupees were to be allocated for the improvement of higher education and universities.



The Indian Universities Act was opposed by the nationalist leaders. The nationalists saw in it an attempt to strengthen imperialism and to sabotage nationalist feelings. Gokhale called it a “**retrograde measure**”.

### **GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION POLICY 1913**

In 1906, the progressive state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories. National leaders urged the government to do so for British India (Gokhale made a powerful advocacy for it in the Legislative Assembly).

In its 1913 Resolution on Education Policy, the **government refused to take up the responsibility of compulsory education**, but accepted the policy of removal of illiteracy and urged provincial governments to take early steps to provide free elementary education to the poorer and more backward sections. **Private efforts were to be encouraged** for this and the quality of secondary schools was to be improved.

A university, it was decided, was to be established in each province and teaching activities of universities were to be encouraged.

**Regarding women's education**, it was suggested that there should be the curriculum of practical utility for girls, and that examinations of girls should not get much importance; however, there should be an increase in the number of women teachers and inspectors.

### **SADLER UNIVERSITY COMMISSION (1917-19)**

In 1917, **Dr. Michael Saddler**, Vice Chancellor of Leeds University, presided over the establishment of the Sadler Commission. It was also called as Calcutta University Commission. Although the Commission was primarily tasked with **examining the problems of the University of Calcutta**, it discovered that the issues were highly interconnected with those of other Indian universities; as a result, its recommendations were of great value to the entire

Indian higher education system. This report had a great effect on the progress of secondary and higher education in India. Its recommendations are as follows:

#### **School**

- The Commission suggested the **establishment of secondary and intermediate boards** in each province to administer and regulate secondary and intermediate education.
- **School course should cover 12 years.**

#### **University**

- It advocated **separation of intermediate courses from university education.**
- Students should enter university after an intermediate stage (rather than matric) for a three-year degree course in university. This was done to (i) Prepare students for university stage; (ii) Relieve universities of a large number of below university standard students; (iii) Provide collegiate education to those not planning to go through university stage.
- A university should function as a centralized, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body, rather than as scattered, affiliated colleges
- There should be less rigidity in framing university regulations.

#### **Other recommendation**

- It also recommended the introduction of technological, professional and vocational courses, and Female education.

#### **Developments**

Many of the universities implemented the suggestions made by the Saddler Commission. In the period from 1916 to 1921 seven new universities came up at **Mysore, Patna, Benaras, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow and Osmania.**

### **HARTOG COMMITTEE, 1929**

In May 1928, the Simon Commission (an Indian Statutory Commission set up for examining into



social, political and economic developments of India) appointed an Auxiliary Committee, also called as the Hartog Committee, named after its chairman, **Sir Philip Joseph Hartog**. The Committee arrived at the conclusion that the expansion in the field of education was taking place at the cost of quality. The **immediate need of the hour was to improve the quality of education rather than to struggle to increase the quantity education**. The Committee inquired into all the aspects of education in India and presented its report in September 1929. Its recommendation were:

### Primary Education

- Government should be **responsible for the control and inspection of primary schools**.
- Primary education should be for four years.
- The school timings and the curriculum should be such as to suit the environment and conditions of the locality where they are, and the subjects selected should have practical value for the students.

### Secondary School Education

- Introduction of a more diversified curriculum.
- Students would benefit from the **introduction of alternative courses** in the high schools as the students could then choose courses according to their aptitude.
- Inclusion of industrial and commercial subjects.

### Higher Education

- It found that the **standard of education was low**, there was overcrowding in universities, and libraries were not well equipped.
- The committee suggested that **affiliated universities be established besides unitary and residential universities**, the condition of university libraries be improved, honours courses be opened, and students be admitted on the basis of abilities and aptitudes.
- The committee asserted the importance of developing learned and liberal-minded individuals who would be capable of undertaking responsibilities.

### Women's Education

- Regarding women's education, the committee recommended that the **education of boys and girls should get equal importance**; more primary schools for girls should be established, and the curriculum should include hygiene, home science, and music in secondary schools.
- Attention should also be given to the **training of women for teaching jobs**.

### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

The Government of India Act, 1935 was an important step towards the advancement of education leading to the attainment of political freedom. A new system of administration called the Provincial Autonomy came into force from the year 1937 in eleven provinces of British India. The hopes of educational advancement were not realized as the congress remained in power for a short duration of just three years.

### DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION

When the Congress Governments assumed office in provinces in 1937, the need for liquidation of illiteracy was urgently felt by the Government. Both primary education and adult education attracted the attention of the policy makers. The Congress Governments were committed to **introduce universal, free and compulsory primary education**. But they faced a pinch of resources. **Mahatma Gandhi** came forward to propose a system of primary education which attempted to make **education self-supporting**. His idea was given shape with details by a committee **under the Presidentship of Dr. Zakir Husain**. The report became the policy document of the Congress Governments. It is also called the Wardha **Scheme of Basic Education (1937)**. But the changes in the political situation and the Second World War did not allow any further progress in this field.

**The scheme had the following provisions:**

- Nationwide Free and Compulsory Education for 7 years



- Mother Tongue will be the Medium of Instruction
- Education will be centred around manual or productive work, not just for Degree and examination. Hence it integrated the Physical Environment, Social Environment, and Craft Work.

### Gandhiji's Basic Education Scheme

Although Gandhiji was very active in the independence movement, he was equally busy in conceptualizing a scheme of education, which would be truly Indian in nature and could cater to the requirements of Indians. **His ideas on education got fructified with the announcement of an education scheme, popularly known as Basic Education Scheme or Wardha Education Scheme, in an All India National Education Conference held at Wardha in the year 1937.** In his inaugural speech, on October 22-23, 1937, Mahatma **Gandhi underlined the following points:**

- The present system of primary education is not only wasteful but also harmful. Pupils pick up evil habits. The remedy lay in educating through vocational or manual training.
- Manual training should be the core of all education. There was no other way to carry education to crores of children except through meeting the expenses of the teachers by the product of the manual work. Thus, education should be supporting.
- Basic education is based on non-violence.
- Crafts work could be utilized
- The importance of manual training, vocational education, self-sufficiency, non-violence education became the aims of education, which were inculcated at the primary stage

### SERGEANT PLAN OF EDUCATION (1944)

Although the period after the Second World War did not have any significant developments as far as the policies on Education were concerned,

yet an official attempt to **plan a national system of education for India was made in 1944.** It was the most important plan of Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by **the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE).** This is also called the Sargent **Plan or Report** of 1944. The main object of the plan was to create in India the same standard of educational attainments as had already been admitted in England. The main focus of this plan was on:

- **Pre-primary education** for children between 3 and 6 years of age.
- **Universal, compulsory, and free primary** or basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, divided into the junior basic (6-11) and senior basic (11-14).
- High school education for six years for selected children between the ages of 11 and 17
- A **university course of three years** beginning after the Higher Secondary Education for selected students.
- Technical, commercial, and art education for full-time and part-time students on adequate scale.
- The liquidation of adult illiteracy and the development of public libraries system in about 20 years;
- Full provision for the proper training of teachers required for the implementing and continuation of the scheme;
- The organization of compulsory physical education, medical inspection followed by after treatment, and provision of milk and midday meals for the undernourished.

### EVALUATION OF BRITISH POLICY ON EDUCATION

- Even the inadequate measures the government took for the expansion of modern education were guided by concerns other than philanthropic.



- The government measures for the promotion of education were influenced by:
  - ♦ **Agitation in favour of modern education** by enlightened Indians, Christian missionaries, and humanitarian officials.
  - ♦ The **need to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians** to man an increasing number of subordinate posts in the administration and in British business concerns—thus there was an emphasis on English medium as the language of administration and of education.
  - ♦ The hope that educated Indians would help expand the market for British manufacturers in India.
  - ♦ An expectation that Western education would reconcile Indians to British rule, particularly as it glorified British conquerors and their administration.
- The **traditional system of Indian learning gradually declined** for want of support, and especially after 1844 when it was declared that

applicants for government employment should possess knowledge of English.

- **Mass education was neglected leading to widespread illiteracy** (1911—84 percent and in 1921—92 percent), which created a wide linguistic and cultural gulf between the educated few and the masses.
- Since education was to be paid for, it became a monopoly of upper and richer classes and city dwellers.
- **There was almost total neglect of women's education because:**
  1. The government did not want to arouse wrath of orthodox sections;
  2. It had no immediate utility for colonial rule.
- **Scientific and technical education was by and large neglected.** By 1857, there were only three medical colleges at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and only one good engineering college at Roorkee, which was open only to Europeans and Eurasians.



The growth of plantations, coal-mining, railways and mill industries in the nineteenth century resulted in the rise of the modern working class. Plantations and railways were the initial enterprises in the Indian subcontinent. These modern industries resulted in the formation of **collectivities of workers in certain cities**. In some big urban centres (such as Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, and Jamshedpur), their presence was overwhelming. Any political party trying to build its base would attempt to mobilise this working class.

Nationalism was the most important ideology and sentiment spreading throughout India during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The workers were also not untouched by it. However, the relationship between the workers and the nationalists, particularly represented by the Congress, was not always close and uniform. We shall discuss how the Indian working class movement became intertwined with the political struggle for national emancipation.

## GROWTH OF MODERN INDUSTRIES AND WORKING CLASS

### GROWTH OF TEA COMPANY

A British company, the **Assam Tea Company**, was established in 1839 to set up tea gardens in Assam. Coffee plantations were started in South India by 1840.

### GROWTH OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

The **Great Indian Peninsular Railways** laid its first line between **Bombay and Thane** in 1853. Another line was opened by the **Eastern Indian Railway between Calcutta and Raniganj in 1854**. By 1857, there was 288 miles of railway tracks in India. The **real expansion of railways occurred after the Revolt of 1857** when the British rulers realised its significance for military purposes. Coal production had begun as far back as 1775. The **Bengal Coal**

**Company was established in 1843**. However, it was only the beginning of railways which saw a real growth in coal production because coal was essential for running the railway locomotion. By the end of the 19th century, the production of coal rose to around three million tons.

### GROWTH OF COTTON AND JUTE MILLS IN INDIA

The first cotton textile mill was started in Bombay by **Cowasjee Nanabhoy** in 1853. Cotton mill industry developed rapidly in cities like Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Sholapur and Nagpur. It was mostly owned by the Indians. In contrast, the jute mills remained in foreign hands for a long time. A Scottish entrepreneur started the **first jute mill in Kolkata in 1854**. It also expanded rapidly over the next fifty years. The mill industry got enormously strengthened by the 1870s with a large number of workers employed in them. In 1890, over 3 lakh workers were employed in factories and mines.

### GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS

By 1914, there were 264 cotton mills in India employing 260,000 workers, 60 jute mills with 200,000 workers, the railways provided work to 600,000 people, the plantations to 700,000 workers and mines to 150,000 workers. An increasingly growing number of workers were concentrated in small enclaves within city boundaries or around plantations. By 1921, **over 28 lakhs persons were employed in organised industries**. Besides, a large number of people were employed in the non-organised sector in urban areas.

The modern working class, although derived from the agricultural labourers and marginal peasants in the countryside, was quite different in its position. It was numerically small compared to the overwhelming number of labouring poor and small peasants in the rural areas. But it was concentrated in certain crucial areas from where the emergent modern politics could be influenced



## CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS

### WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The working and living conditions of the workers were extremely bad. Long hours of work, low wages, unhygienic conditions at working places, employment of small children, discrimination against women workers, poor and unsanitary housing, high levels of indebtedness, and no guarantee against accident, sickness or old age created a situation in which the death rate was very high among workers leading to a high rate of turnover.

In most places, the workers had to labour for 12 to 16 hours or even more under intolerable conditions. They had then to live in houses in the cities which had an average of 5 persons in one small room. Women workers faced even harsher situations labouring both in the mills, plantations or collieries and also working at home under unbearable conditions. The conditions of the plantation labourers were particularly bad because they were confined in a restricted area and were legally bound to work for the period of the contract. They almost faced the situation of prisoners of the planters who employed recruiting and disciplining agents called sirdars and security guards to supervise and coerce them to work.

The Indian British government passed Factory Acts in 1881 and 1891 to improve the lot of factory labourers. Let us see their provisions.

#### Factory Acts 1881

It was the first factory Act passed during the tenure of Lord Ripon. The Factory Act, 1881 sought to regulate and improve the condition of labour in Indian factories. Its provisions were:

- The Act was applicable to all factories in India that used mechanical power and employed more than 100 workers.
- The Act prohibited the employment of children under the age of seven.

- It limited the number of working hours for children below the age of twelve and required that dangerous machinery should be fenced.
- Inspectors were appointed to supervise the implementation of these measures.
- Four holidays were mandated in one month.

#### Factory Acts 1891

In 1884, the Mulock Commission was appointed by the Government at Bombay to review the working of Factories Act of 1881. Mr. N.M. Lokhande, who was the founder of the Bombay Mill Hands Association, presented a charter of demand, on behalf of Association to the Commission and the first time in the history of mill workers, the Bombay Mill Owners Associated conceded the demand for a weekly holiday.

#### Major Provisions

- It was applicable to all factories that used power, employed more than fifty people, and worked for 120 days or more in a year.
- It provided weekly holidays for all workers and a half-hour long midday break.
- The minimum age of children was raised to nine and the maximum to seventeen.
- The hours of work for children between nine and seventeen, were curtailed up to 7 hours in a day and between 6.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m.
- Children were prohibited from working during night shift.
- Employment of women between 7.00 p.m. and 5.00 a.m. was also prohibited.
- Women were allowed to work for a maximum of 11 hours in a day.

#### Analysis of the Factory Acts

These Factory Acts applied only to children and women and not to the adult male labourers who formed the bulk of the workforce, and, even in their cases, the protection was not comprehensive. The machinery to enforce the provisions of the Acts was even weaker.

## WAGE CONDITION

The situation on the wage front was no better in the initial years. The industrial wages were not much above the agricultural wages on the whole. The rates were different in different centres. While in Bombay the wages were the highest, in Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and other centres they were low. In the plantations the wages were even lower.

## NATIONALISTS AND THE WORKERS IN THE EARLY PHASE

### EARLY EFFORTS

During the early period, some social reformers showed interests in the improvement of workers' conditions. Let us see some of the earlier attempts to improve the economic conditions of the workers:

- **Bengal:** Sasipada Banerjee formed an organization known as the **Workingmen's Club**, in 1870 to work for the amelioration of the conditions of workers in Bengal. He was a Brahmo social reformer. He also brought out a **monthly journal** entitled **Bharat Sramjeebi** for spreading education among workers.
- **Mumbai:** S.S. Bengalee and Narain Meghajee Lokhanday were involved in various activities among the workers. **Narain Meghajee Lokhanday** started the newspaper **Deenbandhu** and set up the **Bombay Mill and Millhands Association**. Some other important organizations active among the Bombay workers were the **Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha** formed in 1909, and the **Social Service League** established in 1911.

### ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY EFFORTS

The efforts of early nationalist were primarily interested in welfare activities and did not have much organizational base among the workers. Their work was mostly of a philanthropic nature, and not much political. Their main aim was to persuade the colonial government to make legislation to improve the harsh working conditions of labourers.

## Attitude of Early nationalist toward working Class

- **Indifferent to the labour's cause:** The early nationalist regarded any legislative intervention for working conditions of workers as unnecessary and uncalled for. None of the major works by early nationalists showed concern for the misery of the labouring classes. **The Indian National Congress** also did not mention the industrial workers in its early resolutions. When the **first Factory Commission** was appointed in 1875 to enquire into the conditions of the factory workers in Bombay, the nationalist opinion was not in favour of any legal intervention on this issue. Even when the **Factory Act of 1881** was passed, which did not go far in addressing the terrible conditions of work, the nationalists were against it.
- **To avoid the division of national movement into class movement:** Early nationalist did not want a division in the movement on the basis of classes. **Dadabhai Naoroji** declared in the second session of the Indian National Congress that the Congress 'must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses'. Even when the **Factory Act of 1881** was passed, which did not go far in addressing the terrible conditions of work, the nationalists were against it. The **Amrit Bazar Patrika** clearly expressed the nationalist sentiment on this issue by writing that 'A larger death rate amongst our operatives is far more preferable to the collapse of this rising industry'.

## Reasons for indifferent attitude of Early Nationalists

One major reason for isolated reaction of the early nationalists was rapid industrialization. Early nationalist thought the only solution to growing Indian poverty and degradation was



rapid industrialization. Therefore when labor legislation like factory Acts were enacted by Indian British government, early nationalist thought that Indian industries would be destroyed due to any interference by the colonial government. They believed that the colonial government worked in the interests of the British cotton manufacturers and any labour legislation in India would adversely affect the infant industry in India. This was the case when only Indian labour employed in industries owned by Indians. Early Nationalist made a very clear distinction between the grievances of the workers employed in the industries owned by Europeans and Indians.

**For example:** The nationalists quickly extended support to the strike by the **signallers of the GIP Railway in 1899** and appealed to the public to raise funds for the strikers. Similarly, they expressed sympathy for the mint workers who were worked for long hours and whose conditions were very bad. They also supported the **strikes of the postal employees** and some nationalists demanded that unions should be formed among these workers.

Thus, the pattern of early nationalist response to the workers' grievances and protests was very clear. If the protests were against the Indian industrialists, the nationalists did not support them, and wanted the matters to be resolved internally without government intervention. However, if the protests were against the colonial government, many nationalists supported the workers. The nationalists wanted to enlist the support of the workers for the nationalist cause but not at the cost of the supposed interests of Indian capitalists.

## NATIONALISTS AND THE WORKERS DURING SWADESHI UPSURGE

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Extremist nationalists began to see the workers as an ally in the quest for national freedom. During the Swadeshi Movement, the nationalists reached out to the workers, particularly in Bengal, and

were involved in various protests and strikes by the workers, especially in foreign-owned companies. Right on the first day of protests against the **partition of Bengal in 1905**, the workers struck work and joined the demonstrations. The hartals to protest the partition of Bengal witnessed many strikes and participation of workers in demonstrations.

The **greatest demonstration** of the workers' nationalist fervour was seen in 1908 when there were massive strikes **and protests against Tilak's imprisonment**. The workers from the mills and other industries violently protested against the government for unfairly imprisoning Tilak when he wrote articles in defence of the revolutionaries such as Khudiram Bose and others. As Tilak was sentenced for six years, the millworkers decided to strike work and hold demonstrations for six days, one day for each year. These events in Bombay in 1908 were a high watermark of the relationship between the nationalists and the workers.

During the Swadeshi movement, some **preliminary efforts** were also made to **form trade unions**. Some temporary organisations of workers were formed. But, due to lack of consistency, long-term organisations could not develop. After the decline of the Swadeshi Movement, the labour unions floated during the height of the movement disappeared.

### Attempts of Extremist Nationalist leaders

- Nationalists such as **G.S. Agarkar, B.C. Pal, C.R. Das and G. Subramania Iyer** spoke for pro-labour reforms.
- In 1903, **G. Subramania Iyer** emphasised the need for the workers to form their own organisations to fight for their demands.
- Swadeshi leaders in **Bengal**, such as **Aswini Coomar Banerji, S. Haldar, Premtosh Bose and Apurba Kumar Ghosh**, were involved in several protests and strikes of the workers, particularly in foreign-owned companies.
- In **Punjab**, **Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh** were actively involved in the strikes by workers in



government concerns in 1907. They were deported by the colonial government for this.

- In **Tamil Nadu**, the nationalist leaders, such as **Subramaniya Siva and Chidambaram Pillai**, organised strikes in foreign-owned cotton mills.

## NATIONALISTS AND WORKING CLASS IN THE ERA OF MASS NATIONALISM

The graph of working class movements all over India cannot be neatly drawn in terms of periods. Nevertheless, for the sake of presentation, we have here adopted a period-wise structure for working class activities and their relationship to nationalist movement.

### WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS FROM 1918 TO 1926

The years from 1918 to 1926 were very important for the labour movement. There were a large number of strikes and protests all over the country, the workers became involved with the nationalist upsurge during this period, and various unions all over the country were formed leading to an **all-India federation, AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress)**.

#### Factors that caused large scale politicization of working class

1. **First World War:** The **First World War (1914-18)** caused a steep rise in the prices of necessary commodities while the wages did not rise much. This led to discontent among workers. The news from the War front and the relatively better situation of workers in Western countries, combined with the Russian Revolution, instilled a new consciousness among the Indian workers.
2. **Emergence of Gandhi:** The era of mass nationalism, enunciated by Gandhi in India, was the most important factor in the post-War scenario. Various middle-class leaders, including the nationalist ones, were now taking increased interests in workers' problems.
3. **Workers realized their strength:** Earlier protest activities by the workers had also made them aware of their strengths and weaknesses and made them conscious of the need for larger organization.
4. **Launch of the Non-cooperation Movement:** The launch of the Non-cooperation Movement helped in various ways to energise the labour movements all over the country. It inspired the workers and their leaders to struggle for their just rights, and several nationalist activists directly participated and led the labour agitations in various parts of the country. There were hundreds of strikes all over India in many enterprises during 1918-21. **For example: In the Bombay Presidency**, there were numerous strikes pointing to a general unrest among workers to improve their conditions. **In Bengal**, the Khilafat agitators and some Gandhians supported and participated in many strikes and agitations by jute workers in and around Calcutta. **C.R. Das** was an active Congress leader in Bengal who worked for linking the Congress with the emergent labour movement. **In Jamshedpur**, the **Jamshedpur Labour Association**, was formed during the 1920 strike by the Congress leaders.
5. **Formation of trade Unions:** By 1920, according to an estimate there were 125 unions consisting of 250,000 members. This was a fairly impressive growth by any standards. All these developments led to the establishment of the **All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)** in 1920. Let us discuss in detail about Trade Unions.

#### Formation of trade Unions

The **Madras Labour Union**, formed in April 1918, is generally considered to be the **first trade union** in India. **B.P.Wadia**, a nationalist leader and an associate of Annie Besant, was instrumental in its organization. It was mainly an organization based on the workers of Carnatic and Buckingham Mills



in Madras. But workers from other trades such as tramways, rickshaw-pullers, etc. also joined the union in the initial stage.

### All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)

In 1919-20 there was a wave of strikes in many industrial centers such as Kanpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Jamshedpur and Ahmedabad. Thousands of workers took part in these strikes. It was against this background that the **All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)** was formed in Bombay in 1920. Lala Lajpat Rai was its first president and **Dewan Chaman Lall** as its first general secretary. Tilak, before his death in August 1920, was also behind the formation of the AITUC. The emphasis of the AITUC was to associate the workers with the nationalist movement. A large number of Congress activists were among the 800 delegates who attended the AITUC conference from all over the country.

**Lala Lajpat Rai** presided over the inaugural session which was attended by prominent nationalist leaders and trade unionists like Motilal Nehru, Annie Besant, C.F. Andrews, B.P. Wadia and N.M. Joshi. In his first presidential address to the AITUC, **Lala Lajpat Rai** emphasised the urgent need for organization among workers, and declared that 'We must organize our workers, make them class conscious'. He linked capitalism with imperialism and militarism and emphasised that organised labour was very significant in the fight against them. **Dewan Chaman Lall** moved a resolution in favour of Swaraj and emphasised that it would be a Swaraj for the workers as well.

### DO YOU KNOW?

The formation of the ILO acted as a catalyst for the formation of AITUC. The ILO was established in 1919 according to the terms set by the Versailles Treaty which ended the World War I. It was felt that there should be a national organization of the trade unions whose nominees could be chosen to represent the Indian labour in the ILO.

The prominent **Congress and swarajist leader C.R. Das** presided over the third and the fourth sessions of the AITUC. The **Gaya session of the Congress (1922)** welcomed the formation of the AITUC and a committee was formed to assist it. C.R. Das advocated that the Congress should take up the workers' and peasants' cause and incorporate them in the struggle for swaraj or else they would get isolated from the movement. Other leaders who kept close contacts with the AITUC included Nehru, Subhas Bose, C.F. Andrews, J.M. Sengupta, Satyamurthy, V.V. Giri and Sarojini Naidu.

### Gandhi Idea about capital-labour relationship

Gandhi had different ideas about capital-labour relationship. He considered the **industrialists as trustees** and **the workers as partners**, both working for common public good. He believed in amicable and mutual settlement of all contentious issues and strongly discouraged class conflict. The role of trade unions, according to him, was not just to agitate for wages and other workers' issues by holding strikes. They should rather work for the social and cultural improvements of workers and their families. His idea of constructive work among the labourers included establishment of day school for children, enforcement of prohibition, educating the workers for proper and ethical behavior, and so on. He firmly believed that 'Labour must not become a pawn in the hands of politicians on the political chessboard'. He chastised the **Bengal Congress leaders in 1921** for supporting labour militancy by stating that 'We seek not to destroy capital of capitalists but to regulate the relations between capital and labour'. All disputes should be settled through mutual understanding and arbitration. There should be no role of strikes in labour-employer relationship. Such **views were not in conformity with the practice of trade unions**. Thus, the Textile Labours Association' (TLA) (formed in 1920 with Anasuya Sarabhai as one of the founding member) under instructions from Gandhi, did not affiliate with the AITUC when the latter was formed. Gandhi did



not even send a message to the first conference of the AITUC. He did not approve the idea of a central organization of the working class which encompassed various unions.

### WORKING CLASS AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN LATE 1927 AND 1937

In the late 1920s, the leadership of organised labour was moving **towards the communists** who were energetically organizing and mobilizing the workers to raise their voice for their just demands. Workers' and Peasants' Parties were organised in several parts of the country under the leadership of **S.A. Dange, P.C. Joshi, Muzaffar Ahmed and Sohan Singh Josh**. In 1928 there was a **six-month-long strike in Bombay Textile Mills** led by the **Girni Kamgar Union**. The whole of 1928 witnessed unprecedented industrial unrest. By the end of 1928, the communists and other leftist forces had acquired an upper hand in the AITUC.

**Some of the activities of worker class during late 20s are given below:**

- The national scene had become charged up in 1928 due to agitation **against the all-White Simon Commission**. In line with the Indian National Congress, **the AITUC** resolved in 1927 to boycott the Simon Commission and the workers enthusiastically participated in demonstrations against the Commission.
- Also late 1920s **witnessed the Great Depression**. The Great Depression resulted in recession in Indian industries as well. Lowering of wages and large-scale retrenchment was resorted to by the industrialists to economies. Schemes of rationalization were set in motion which increased the intensity of work without raising the wages. Strikes took place at various places against these measures.
- This period of the late 1920s witnessed the legendary strikes by **the Bombay textile workers** (1928) which lasted for about six months.

- There was also a protracted strike of workers in **Tata Iron and Steel Works** in Jamshedpur.
- In 1929, there was a general strike among the **jute workers of Calcutta**. The militancy exhibited by workers was partly due to the rise of the communists in the workers' organisations.

Alarmed at the increasing strength of the trade union movement under extremist influence, the government resorted to legislative restrictions. It passed the Public Safety Ordinance (1929) and the Trade Disputes Act (TDA), 1929. **The TDA, 1929:**

1. Made compulsory the appointment of Courts of Inquiry and Consultation Boards for settling industrial disputes;
2. Made illegal the strikes in public utility services like posts, railways, water and electricity, unless each individual worker planning to go on strike gave an advance notice of one month to the administration;
3. Forbade trade union activity of coercive or purely political nature and even sympathetic strikes

### Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929)

In March 1929, the Government arrested 31 labour leaders, and the three-and-a-half-year trial resulted in the conviction of Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, Joglekar, Philip Spratt, Ben Bradley, Shaikat Usmani and others. The trial got worldwide publicity but weakened the working class movement.

### Split in AITUC

There were two splits within the All India Trade Union Congress during this period. The first split took **place in 1929**. Jawaharlal Nehru was then the president of the AITUC. The main issue was whether the AITUC would boycott the **Royal Commission on Labour** appointed by the British Government or not. The moderates wanted to join it while the extremists wanted to boycott it. Finally, the moderates left the AITUC and formed the **Indian Trade Union Federation with V.V. Giri as the President**. There was another **split in 1931**. The communists left the AITUC and formed the **Red**



**Trade Union Congress.** The splits weakened the trade union movement.

### Role of Nationalist leaders

Congress leaders, such as **Subhas Bose**, wanted that the Congress should take more interest in labour issues and support the workers in their just struggles against both the foreign and Indian capitalists. **Nehru declared** in 1929 that 'if we spread socialist ideas we are bound to come into conflict with the capitalists. But this should not deter us from working for the welfare of the peasants and workers.'

However, although local Congress leaders and activists were supportive of and involved in labour agitations, the central leadership of Congress did not do much actively associate the Congress with the workers' struggles. Even Nehru, as the president of the AITUC in 1929, reminded the delegates that the Congress was 'not a labour organization', but 'a large body comprising all manner of people'.

However, in 1931, the Congress, in its **Karachi Session**, passed a resolution which promised that the Congress government, after independence, would provide the workers a proper wage, healthy working conditions, protection for old age and sickness. It would restrict the number of hours, provide maternity leave for women, grant the right to form labour unions, and seek to improve the overall condition of labour. In the wake of its decision to participate in elections, the **Congress Working Committee** constituted a **Labour Committee in 1936** to help the workers in their problems and struggles.

## WORKING CLASS AND NATIONALISM FROM 1937 TO 1947

### Under Congress Rule in Provinces

During the 1937 elections, the AITUC had supported the Congress candidates. The formation of **Congress ministries in various provinces** resulted in increased working-class activities. The Congress ministries were generally sympathetic to the workers' demands. Increased civil liberties and the pro-labour attitude of some important

Congress leaders provided a favorable ground for labour movement during the period of the Congress ministries. Many legislations favorable to the workers were passed.

### During and After the Second World War

In the beginning of the War, the Congress ministries resigned to protest the unilateral decision by the colonial government to involve India in War. The **communists were also opposed** to second world war initially what they termed as **imperialist war** (but after 1941 when Russia joined the war on behalf of the Allies, the communists described the war as a "**peoples' war**" and supported it). The workers of Bombay staged anti-War strikes and demonstrations. During the **ensuing Quit India Movement**, the nationalist activists tried to involve the organised workers all over the country and succeeded to a large extent. In Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur, and some other places, there were militant strikes by the workers.

In 1945, a large number of workers in various places held strikes and demonstrations in support of the **INA prisoners**. In 1946, the workers in Bombay turned violent in support of the revolt by RIN ratings.

In the post-War period, the Congress Working Committee decided in 1946 that the Congressmen should further involve themselves in labour matters but they should 'discriminate between occasions on which labour action deserves their support and those which called for restraints and discussions'. To propagate its viewpoint among the workers and to organise them on that basis, the Congress had earlier formed **Congress Majdoor Sevak Sangh and Hindustan Majdoor Sevak Sangh**. Later, it was able to mobilize a large number of trade unions and in **May 1947**, the **Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC)** was formed. In 1948, the unions under the influence of the Congress Socialists came out of the AITUC and formed the **Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (HMP)**. In 1949, another organization called **United Trade Union Congress** was formed under the famous trade union leader, **Mrinal Kanti Bose**.



## FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Freedom fighter	Contributions
Annie Besant (1847-1933)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Founded the Theosophical Society in India and started the Home Rule League.</li> </ul>
Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Founded the Socialist Party in 1948.</li> </ul>
Amir Chand (1869-1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A revolutionary activist and associate of Lala Hardayal and Ras Behari Bose.</li> </ul>
Amritlal Vithalal Thakkar (1869-1951)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A member of the Bharatiya Adamjati Sangh, the founder of Bhil Seva Mandal, and a social activist (tribal welfare association).</li> </ul>
Anand Mohan Bose (1847-1906)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Founder member of the Indian Association of Calcutta (1876), Indian National Conference (1883) and Indian National Congress (1885).</li> </ul>
Bhagat Singh (1907-1931)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hindustan Socialist Republican Army member.</li> <li>In Punjab, he founded the Militant Naujawan Bharat Sabha.</li> </ul>
Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>First Barrister in Bombay</li> <li>Advocated Tilak's case on seditious writings in new later's journal, Kesari.</li> </ul>
Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1833- 1894)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He was a brilliant scholar who is most remembered for writing the song Bande Mataram.</li> </ul>
Barindra Kumar Ghosh (1880-1959)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He was a revolutionary activist and founder member of the secret organization. Anushilan Samiti, started in Calcutta in 1902.</li> </ul>
Behramji M Malabari (1853-1912)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He advocated for women's rights, and thanks to his efforts, the Age of Consent Act (1891) was passed.</li> <li>He condemned child marriage and forced widowhood in his Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood (1884).</li> </ul>
Bhulabhai Desai (1877-1946)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He participated in the Home Rule Movement (1916) and was imprisoned during Civil Disobedience Movement</li> </ul>
Chandra Shekhar Azad (1906-1931)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Member of the Hindustan Republican Association and leader of the Hindustan Social Republican Army.</li> <li>He gained his title "Azad" during the Non Co-operation Movement.</li> </ul>
Chhakravarti Rajagopalachari (1879-1972)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He held the post of the General-Secretary of the INC in 1921-1922 and was a member of Congress Working Committee from 1922 to 1924.</li> </ul>
CR Das (1870-1925)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Founded the All India Swaraj Party in 1923</li> </ul>
Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>First to demand 'Swaraj' in the Calcutta Session of INC, 1906.</li> <li>First Indian to be selected to the "House of Commons" on Liberal Party ticket.</li> <li>He highlighted the draining of wealth from India by the British and its effect in his book "Poverty and un-British Rule in India "(1901).</li> </ul>



Freedom fighter	Contributions
Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891-1956)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father of Constitution</li> <li>• First Law Minister of India</li> <li>• Founded the Depressed Classes Institute (1924) and Samaj Samata Sangh (1927).</li> <li>• Participated in all the Three Round Table Conferences and signed the Poona Pact with Gandhiji in 1932.</li> <li>• Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution.</li> </ul>
Dr Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First President of the Indian Republic.</li> </ul>
Dr Zakir Hussain (1897-1969)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of Jamia University at the age of 29 years.</li> <li>• In 1937, he participated in the National Conference on Education in Wardha.</li> </ul>
Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1886-1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President of the Banaras Session of INC, 1905, supported the Swadeshi Movement.</li> <li>• Gandhi's political guru.</li> </ul>
Gopal Hari Deshmukh 'Lokahitwadi' (1823-1892)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Punar Vivah Mandal at Ahmedabad to encourage widow remarriage.</li> <li>• He wrote articles in the Maharashtra weekly, Prabhakar, under the pen name, Lokhitwadi.</li> </ul>
Govind Ballabh Pant (1889-1961)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He was the first Chief Minister of UP and prepared the "Pant Report" on agrarian reforms in UP.</li> </ul>
Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Secretary of INC in 1928 and its President in 1929.</li> <li>• First Prime Minister of Republic India (from 1947 to 1964), also known as the architect of Modern India.</li> </ul>
Jamnalal Bajaj (1889-1942)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An industrialist and freedom fighter from Rajasthan, he was given the title of Rai Bahadur in 1921.</li> </ul>
Jayaprakash Narayana (1902-1979)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popularly known as Loknayak.</li> <li>• Formed the All India Socialist Party in 1934.</li> </ul>
Jatindra Nath Das (1904-1929)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A revolutionary activist and freedom fighter from Bengal, he was arrested for his involvement in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.</li> </ul>
Jyotiba Phule (1827-1890)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Satyasadhak Samaj in 1873 for educating low caste people and authored the Sarvajanik Satyadharma Pustak.</li> </ul>
Khudiram Bose (1889-1908)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A revolutionary from Midnapore, he participated in the Swadeshi Movement and later joined the Revolutionary Party of Bengal.</li> </ul>
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded an organization of non-violent revolutionaries known as 'Red Shirts' or 'Khudai Khidmatgars'.</li> <li>• Also known as Frontier Gandhi.</li> </ul>



Freedom fighter	Contributions
Lala Hardayal (1884-1939)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First President of the Ghadar Party.</li> </ul>
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1890-1958)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President of Khilafat Committee.</li> <li>• Presided over the Congress Special Session at Delhi in 1923, to become the youngest President.</li> <li>• Longest-serving President of INC.</li> </ul>
Madan Lal Dhingra (1887-1909)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A revolutionary from Punjab, he was the member of Indian Home Rule Society, the Abhinav Bharata and the India Houses.</li> </ul>
Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Nationalist Party in 1926.</li> </ul>
Motilal Nehru (1861-1931)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Swarajya Party along with CR Das.</li> </ul>
Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He was the first person to give the idea of a separate Muslim State.</li> <li>• He composed the song, "Share Jahan Se Achha."</li> </ul>
Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fourteen Point Demands.</li> <li>• First PM of Pakistan.</li> </ul>
Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presided over the Lahore Session of Congress (1907)</li> </ul>
Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded Shantiniketan.</li> <li>• Wrote 'Gitanjali', which fetched him the Nobel Prize in 1913.</li> <li>• In 1915, British Crown granted him a 'knighthood' which he renounced after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.</li> <li>• His composed "Jana Gana Mana" and "Amar Shonar Bangla".</li> </ul>
Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1968)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founder member of the Congress Socialist Party (1934).</li> </ul>
Ram Prasad Bismil (1897-1927)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association.</li> </ul>
Ras Behari Bose (1886-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He was associated with Harding Bomb Case and Lahore Conspiracy Case after which he managed to escape to Japan.</li> </ul>
Sachindra Nath Sanyal (1895-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founder member of Hindustan Republican Association.</li> </ul>
Sachidananda Sinha (1871-1950)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interim President of the Indian Constituent Assembly.</li> </ul>
Subhash Chandra Bose (1897-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Independence for India League with JL Nehru.</li> <li>• Elected as the President of INC at its Haripura Session (1938) and Tripuri Session (1939) but resigned from Tripuri due to differences with Gandhiji.</li> <li>• Founded the Forward Block (1939) and Kisan Sabha.</li> </ul>
Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded the Mitra Mela in 1889 and renamed it as the Abhinav Bharat Society in 1904.</li> <li>• Founded the Free India Society in London in 1906.</li> </ul>

Freedom fighter	Contributions
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-48)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father of nation</li> <li>• Civil rights activist in South Africa</li> <li>• Champaran and Kheda Satyagraha</li> <li>• Non-violence</li> <li>• Civil disobedience</li> <li>• Quit India movement</li> </ul>
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Actively participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement</li> <li>• Unified India</li> </ul>
Rani Gaidinliu(1915-1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Naga spiritual and political leader</li> </ul>
Pingali Venkayya (1876-1963)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Designer of the flag on which our National Flag is based</li> </ul>
Rani Laxmi Bai (1828-1858)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian Rebellion of 1857</li> </ul>
Mangal Pandey (1827-1857)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian Rebellion of 1857</li> </ul>
Bakht Khan(1797-1859)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian Rebellion of 1857</li> </ul>
Begum Hazrat Mahal(1820-1879)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian Rebellion of 1857</li> </ul>
Asaf Ali(1888-1953)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian national movement</li> </ul>
Ashfaqulla Khan(1900-1927)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kakori conspiracy</li> </ul>
Rajendra Lahiri(1901-1927)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kakori conspiracy</li> </ul>
Sachindra Bakshi(1904-1984)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kakori conspiracy</li> </ul>
Roshan Singh(1992-1927)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kakori conspiracy</li> </ul>
Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee(1895-1969)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kakori conspiracy</li> </ul>
Bagha Jatin(1879-1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Howrah-Shibpur conspiracy case</li> </ul>
Kartar Singh Sarabha(1896-1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lahore conspiracy</li> </ul>
Basawon Singh (1909-1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lahore conspiracy case</li> </ul>
Senapati Bapat(1880-1967)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leader of the Mulshi Satyagraha</li> </ul>
Bhikaji Cama(1861-1936)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unfurled the Indian flag at the International Socialist Conference at Stuttgart in Germany, 1907</li> </ul>
Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi(1887-1971)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founder of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan</li> </ul>
Tirupur Kumaran(1904-1932)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founder of the Desa Bandhu Youth Association</li> </ul>
Lakshmi Sahgal(1914-2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Officer of the Indian Army</li> </ul>



Freedom fighter	Contributions
Parbati Giri(1926-1995)	• Mother Teresa of Western Orissa.
Kanneganti Hanumanthu(1870-1920)	• Palnadu Rebellion
Alluri Sitarama Raju(1897-1924)	• Rampa Rebellion 1922-1924
Sucheta Kriplani(1908-1974)	• Founder of the All India Mahila Congress 1940
Prafulla Chaki(1888-1908)	• The Muzaffarpur killing
Khudiram Bose(1889-1908)	• The Muzaffarpur killing
Shyamji Krishna Varma(1857-1930)	• Founder of the Indian Home Rule Society, India House and The Indian Sociologist in London.
Subodh Roy(1915-2006)	• Tebhaga movement
Ubaidullah Sindhi(1872-1944)	• Silk Letter Conspiracy
Vasudev Balwant Phadke(1845-1883)	• Deccan Rebellion

## GOVERNORS-GENERAL & VICEROYS OF INDIA

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the East India Company received a Royal Charter from the Crown on 31 December 1600, marking the beginning of British rule over India. In just over 300 years, the British became one of the world's most powerful countries from a trading power. It is remarkable that Britain managed to establish one of the world's largest empires despite being a small island country. The phrase "**the empire on which the sun never sets**" illustrates the extent of the empire. It was Britain's strong and efficient bureaucracy in its colonies that enabled it to achieve this remarkable feat. Through Governor-Generals and Viceroys, the British established this control in India.

- **Governor-General of Bengal (1773-1833):** When East India Company came to India, it controlled Bengal through a post named as "**Governor of Bengal**" (first Governor of Bengal: Robert Clive).

- The other two presidencies, Bombay and Madras, also had their own governors.
- Governor of Bengal became Governor-General of Bengal after the **Regulating Act of 1773** was passed (**Warren Hastings** was the first Governor-General of Bengal).
- As a result of this Act, the Governors of Bombay and Madras worked under the Bengal Governor-General.
- **Governor-General of India (1833-58):** The post of Governor-General of Bengal was again renamed "Governor-General of India" by the Indian Charter Act of 1833 (the first Governor-General of India was William Bentinck).
- **Viceroy of India (1858-1947):** Company rule in India was abolished when the revolt of 1857 occurred, and the British crown gained direct control over India.
  - **Viceroy of India** became Governor General of India after the **Government of India Act 1858** was passed.
  - The Viceroy was appointed directly by the British government.
  - **Lord Canning** was the first Viceroy of India.

## Important events related to India's Governor-Generals & Viceroy

Governors General & Viceroy	Important Events
Warren Hastings (1773-1785)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regulating Act 1773</li> <li>Pitt's India Act 1784</li> <li>Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784)</li> <li>The Rohilla War of 1774</li> <li>Abolished the Dual System in Bengal (Introduced by Robert Clive).</li> <li>James Augustus Hicky's Bengal Gazette- First Indian newspaper published (in 1780)</li> <li>First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)</li> <li>The Treaty of Salbai in 1782</li> <li>Second Mysore War in 1780-84</li> <li>Creation of collector post</li> <li>Abolished Dastak system</li> <li>English Translation of Bhagwat Gita by Charles Wilkins</li> </ul>
Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Established lower courts and appellate courts</li> <li>Third Anglo-Mysore war (1790-92)</li> <li>Treaty of Seringapatam (1792)</li> <li>Cornwallis Code (1793)</li> <li>Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793</li> <li>Introduction of Civil Services in India</li> <li>Sunset Law</li> </ul>
Lord John Shore (1793-1798)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policy of Non-intervention</li> <li>Charter Act of 1793</li> <li>2nd Rohilla War 1794</li> <li>Battle of Kharda (1795)</li> </ul>
Lord Wellesley (1798-1805)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introduction of the Subsidiary Alliance System (1798)</li> <li>Fourth Mysore War (1799)</li> <li>Censorship Act, 1799</li> <li>Second Maratha War (1803-05)</li> <li>Fort William College at Calcutta (1800)</li> <li>Treaty of Bassein (1802)</li> <li>Raj Bhavan at Calcutta was established in 1803</li> </ul>
George barlow (1805-1807)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sepoy mutiny at Vellore</li> <li>Bank of Calcutta (1806) established (later Imperial Bank of India, now State Bank of India)</li> </ul>
Lord Minto I (1807-1813)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh (1809)</li> <li>Charter Act of 1813</li> </ul>



Governors General & Viceroys	Important Events
Lord Hastings (1813-1823)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ended the policy of Non-intervention</li> <li>• Anglo-Nepal War (1814-16)</li> <li>• Treaty of Sagauli, 1816</li> <li>• Third Anglo-Maratha War (1816-1818)</li> <li>• Abolition of Peshwaship</li> <li>• Creation of Bombay Presidency in 1818</li> <li>• Establishment of Ryotwari System in Madras Presidency in 1820 by the governor Sir Thomas Munro.</li> <li>• Establishment of Mahalwari System in Northern India by Holt Mackenzie (1822)</li> <li>• The Pindari War (1817-1818)</li> <li>• Bengal Tenancy Act, 1822</li> <li>• General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823</li> </ul>
Lord Amherst (1823-1828)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barrackpore mutiny of 1824</li> <li>• First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26)</li> <li>• Establishment of Sanskrit College at Calcutta (1824)</li> <li>• Treaty of Yandabo, 1826</li> <li>• Capture of Bharatpur (1826)</li> </ul>
Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First Governor General of India</li> <li>• Abolition of sati and other cruel rites (1829)</li> <li>• Suppression of Thugi (1830).</li> <li>• Mahalwari System in Central India, Punjab and Western UP.</li> <li>• Charter Act 1833 or Saint Helena Act 1833</li> <li>• Kol Rebellion in 1831</li> <li>• Resolution of 1835, and educational reforms and introduction of English as the official language.</li> <li>• Medical College and Hospital, Kolkata (1835)</li> <li>• Annexation of Mysore (1831), Coorg (1834) and Central Cachar (1834).</li> <li>• Abolition of the provincial courts of appeal</li> </ul>
Charles Metcalfe (1835-1836)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New press law.</li> <li>• Known as Liberator of India Press</li> <li>• Establishment of Calcutta Public Library in 1836</li> </ul>
Lord Auckland (1836-1842)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tripartite Treaty in 1838</li> <li>• The First Anglo Afghan War (1840-1842)</li> <li>• Bank of Bombay (1840) established</li> <li>• First Bengali daily newspaper Sambad Prabhakar published in 1839</li> <li>• Tattwabodhini Sabha in 1839</li> </ul>
Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gwalior War (1843)</li> <li>• Conquest and annexation of Sind Province by British (1843)</li> <li>• Indian Slavery Act, 1843</li> </ul>

**Governors General & Viceroys****Important Events****Lord Hardinge I (1844-1848)**

- The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46)
- Treaty of Lahore (1846)
- Treaty of Bhairawal (1846)
- Establishment of Roorkee Engineering College (1847)
- Social reforms like abolition of female infanticide

**Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856)**

- Doctrine of Lapse in 1848
- Charter Act, 1853
- Bethune Collegiate School (1849)
- Charles Wood Despatch (1854)
- Establishment of summer capital at Shimla
- Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852)
- First Passenger train between Bombay and Thane (1853)
- First telegraph Line was laid between Diamond Harbour and Calcutta (1851)
- Post Office Act, 1854
- Established Public Works Department (1854)
- The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849)
- Santhal Rebellion (1855)
- Religious Disabilities Act, 1856
- Annexation of Oudh (1856)
- Banned Female Infanticide completely and Human Sacrifice.

**Lord Canning (1856-1862)**

- Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856
- Revolt of 1857
- Establishment of three universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857
- Queen Victoria's Proclamation on 1 November, 1858
- The Government of India Act, 1858
- Introduction System of Budget
- Formation of Imperial Civil Services
- Indigo Revolt 1859-60
- Enactment of Indian Penal Code 1860
- Indian High Courts Act 1861
- Indian Councils Act, 1861
- Indian Civil Service Act, 1861
- Police Act, 1861
- Establishment of Archaeological Survey of India 1861

**Lord Elgin I**

- Establishment of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras High Court 1862
- Wahabi movement suppressed



Governors General & Viceroy	Important Events
Lord John Lawrence (1864-1869)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bhutan War (1864-65)</li> <li>• Establishment of Shimla as India's summer capital in 1863</li> <li>• The Tabernacle of New Dispensation, a new Church established by Keshub Chandra Sen</li> <li>• Establishment of Allahabad High Court in 1866</li> <li>• Famine Commission 1867</li> <li>• Tenancy Act was passed in Punjab and Oudh in 1868</li> </ul>
Lord Mayo (1869-1872)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Started the Census in India in 1872</li> <li>• Indian Reform Association (1870)</li> <li>• Started Financial decentralization in 1870</li> <li>• Established Statistical Survey of India in 1872</li> </ul>
Lord Northbrook (1872-1876)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visit of Prince of Wales in 1875</li> <li>• Trial of Gaekwar of Baroda</li> <li>• Kuka Movement in Punjab</li> <li>• Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1875)</li> <li>• Prince of Wales Edward VII visited India in 1875</li> </ul>
Lord Lytton (1876-1880)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine of 1876-78</li> <li>• Royal Titles Act (1876), Queen Victoria assuming the title of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' or Queen Empress of India.</li> <li>• The Vernacular Press Act (1878)</li> <li>• The Arms Act (1878)</li> <li>• Second Afghan War (1878-80).</li> <li>• 1st Delhi Durbar (out of 3) in 1877</li> <li>• Decreased the maximum age of appearing in civil services from 21 to 19</li> <li>• Second Anglo-Afghan War, (1878-80)</li> <li>• Treaty of Gandamak signed in 1879</li> </ul>
Lord Ripon (1880-1884)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First Factory Act (1881)</li> <li>• Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881</li> <li>• Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act in 1882</li> <li>• Ilbert Bill (1883)</li> <li>• Establishment of Panjab University in 1882</li> <li>• Government resolution on local self-government (1882)</li> <li>• Hunter Commission 1882</li> <li>• First complete Census in India in 1881</li> <li>• Famine codes 1883</li> <li>• Increased the maximum age of appearing in civil services from 18 to 21</li> </ul>
Lord Dufferin (1884-1888)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of Indian National Congress (1885)</li> <li>• Bengal Tenancy Act (1885)</li> <li>• Third Anglo-Burmese War (1885)</li> </ul>

Governors General & Viceroys	Important Events
Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age of Consent Act, 1891</li> <li>• Indian Council Act 1892</li> <li>• Second Factory Act 1891</li> <li>• Setting up of Durand Commission in 1893</li> <li>• Categorisation of civil services</li> </ul>
Lord Elgin II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine of 1896–1897</li> <li>• Spread of Bubonic plague in Bombay (1896)</li> <li>• Ramakrishna Mission 1897</li> </ul>
Lord Curzon (1899-1905)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine of 1899-1900</li> <li>• Munda rebellion 1899-1900</li> <li>• Partition of Bengal (1905)</li> <li>• Appointment of Raleigh University Commission (1902)</li> <li>• Indian Universities Act (1904)</li> <li>• Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904</li> <li>• Official Secrets Act 1904</li> <li>• Second Delhi Durbar (out of 3) in 1903</li> <li>• Appointment of Police Commission under Sir Andrew Frazer in 1902</li> <li>• Creation of North-West Frontier Province in 1901</li> <li>• Younghusband expedition to Tibet under Francis Younghusband in 1903–04</li> </ul>
Lord Minto II (1905-1910)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Swadeshi Movements. (1905-11)</li> <li>• Establishment of Muslim League (1906)</li> <li>• Split in Congress in 1907</li> <li>• Morley–Minto reforms 1909</li> <li>• Satyendra Prasanna Sinha became first Indian member to be appointed in Viceroy's Executive Council</li> <li>• Seditious meetings (prohibition) Act 1907</li> <li>• Foundation of Jugantar revolutionary group in Bengal (1906)</li> <li>• Indian Press Act, 1910</li> <li>• Jamsetji Tata established TISCO in 1907</li> <li>• Foundation stone of 'Victoria Memorial' laid in 1906</li> <li>• Newspapers Act 1908</li> </ul>
Lord Hardinge II (1910-1916)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Third Delhi Durbar (1911)</li> <li>• Transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi (1911)</li> <li>• Partition of Bengal to form Bihar and Orissa province (1912)</li> <li>• World War I (1914–18)</li> <li>• Komagata Maru incident (1914)</li> <li>• McMahon border line 1914</li> <li>• Ghadar Mutiny (1915)</li> <li>• Mahatma Gandhi came back to India from South Africa in 1915</li> <li>• Foundation of Hindu Mahasabha (1915)</li> <li>• Foundation of Banaras Hindu University 1916</li> </ul>



## Governors General &amp; Viceroys

## Important Events

## Lord Chelmsford (1916-1921)

- Formation of Indian Home Rule movement (1916)
- Lucknow Pact (1916)
- Foundation of Sabarmati Ashram (1916)
- Champaran Satyagraha (1917)
- Montagu's August Declaration, 1917
- Saddler University Commission or Calcutta Commission (1917)
- Kheda Satyagraha 1918
- Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919)
- Government of India Act 1919
- Rowlatt Act (1919)
- Jallianwala Bagh massacre (1919)
- Khilafat Movement (1919-20)
- Non-cooperation movement (1920-22)
- Foundation of Aligarh Muslim University in 1920

## Lord Reading (1921-1926)

- Malabar rebellion 1921
- Chauri Chaura incident (1922)
- Withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement (1922)
- Establishment of Swaraj Party (1922)
- Railway budget was separated from general budget since 1924
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh 1925
- Communist Party of India in Kanpur in 1925
- Kakori train robbery (1925)

## Lord Irwin (1926-1931)

- Simon Commission to India (1927)
- Harcourt Butler Indian States Commission (1927)
- Nehru Report (1928)
- Death of Lala Lajpat Rai (1928)
- Fourteen Points of Jinnah (1929)
- Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929)
- Deepavali Declaration (1929)
- Lahore session of the Congress (Purna Swaraj Resolution) 1929
- Dandi March
- Civil Disobedience Movement (1930)
- Dharasana Satyagraha (1930)
- First Round Table Conference (1930)
- Chittagong armoury raid (1930)
- Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931)
- Execution of Bhagat Singh, Shivaram Rajguru, and Sukhdev Thapar (1931)

## Governors General &amp; Viceroy

## Important Events

Lord Willingdon (1931-1936)

- Communal Award (1932)
- Second Round Table Conference (1931)
- Communal Award by Ramsay MacDonald (1932)
- Poona Pact (1932)
- Third Round Table Conference (1932)
- Pakistan Declaration (1933)
- Launch of Individual Civil Disobedience (1933)
- Congress Socialist Party in 1934
- Government of India Act of 1935
- Congress Socialist Party in 1934
- Reserve Bank of India Act 1934
- Burma separated from India 1935

Lord Linlithgow (1936-1944)

- Indian provincial elections (1937)
- Indian entry into World War II (1939)
- Day of Deliverance (1939)
- Formation of All India Forward Bloc (1939)
- Lahore Resolution (1940)
- August Offer (1940)
- Cripps Mission (1942)
- Formation of Indian Legion (1942)
- Quit India Movement (1942)
- Formation of Indian National Army (1942)
- Bengal famine (1943)

Lord Wavell (1944-1947)

- C. R. formula (1944)
- Simla Conference (1945)
- WWII ended (1945)
- INA trials (1945-1946)
- Cabinet Mission (1946)
- Direct Action Day (16 August 1946)
- Interim Government was formed in 1946
- Royal Indian Navy mutiny (1946)
- Observance of 'Direct Action Day' (August 16, 1948) by the Muslim League.
- Elections to the Constituent Assembly, formation of Interim Government by the Congress (September 1946).
- Announcement of end of British rule in India by Clement Attlee on February 20, 1947.

Lord Mountbatten (1947-1948)

- June Third Plan (1947)
- Redcliff commission (1947)
- India's Independence (15 August 1947)



## IMPORTANT CONGRESS SESSIONS

### 1st session 1885

Location - Bombay

President - W C Bonnerjee

Importance –

- Formation of the Indian National Congress.
- At Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay, the first meeting of the Indian National Congress comprised 72 social reformers, journalists, and lawyers.

### 2nd session 1886

Location – Calcutta

President- Dadabhai Naoroji

Importance –

- The number of delegates had increased to 434.
- The congress decided to set up the Provincial Congress Committees across the country.

### 3rd session 1887

Location – Madras

President- Badruddin Tyabji

Importance –

- First Muslim President presided the congress session
- 607 delegates attended this.
- An appeal made to Muslims to join hands with other national leaders.

### 4th session 1888

Location – Allahabad

President- George Yule

Importance –

- First English President

### 6th session 1890

Location – Calcutta

President- Pherozeshah Mehta

Importance – In his presidential address, Pherozeshah Mehta said 'To my mind, a Parsi is a

better and a truer Parsi, as a Mohammedan or a Hindu is a better and truer Mohammedan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognises the fraternity of all the native communities of the country".

### Dadabhai Naoroji becomes the first Asian to be elected to the British Parliament

In the 1892 Parliamentary Elections in Britain, Dadabhai Naoroji was elected from the **Finsbury Central seat** as a **candidate of the Liberal Party**. He won despite a leading British politician chastising the public for "stooping so low as to vote for a brown man".

### 8th session 1892

Location – Allahabad

President- W C Bonnerjee

Importance –

- The Indian Councils Act of 1892, which the colonial government had just put into effect, was criticised by the Congress.
- They alleged that the Act denied Indians the right to elect their own representatives.

### 11th session 1895

Location – Pune

President- Surendranath Banerjea

Importance –

- A significant rise in delegates from 1163 in 1895 to 1584.
- The President praised the Congress for uniting "the dispersed element of a large and diverse population" and inspiring in them the new-born spirit of an awakened nation.

### 12th session 1896

Location – Calcutta

President- Rahimatullah M. Sayani

Importance –

- 'Vande Mataram' was sung for the first time.
- Congress passed a resolution blaming the British for the famine that had devastated many parts of India.
- They criticised the existing famine code's protections as being "inadequate" and criticised the government for obstructing private aid.

### 13th session 1897

Location – Amaravati

President- C. Sankaran Nair

Importance –

- The Amaravati Session was heavily influenced by the arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak on sedition-related charges.

### 15th session 1899

Location – Lucknow

President- Romesh Chunder Dutt

Importance –

- The Congress demanded that the British government put a stop to the '**drain of wealth**' from India to England that had been taking place as a result of colonial rule.
- It is no coincidence that Congress brought up this issue while R.C. Dutt served as president because he and Dadabhai Naoroji had been repeatedly criticising the British for the diversion of riches.

### 17th session 1901

Location – Calcutta

President- Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha

Importance –

- First time **Mahatma Gandhi** appeared on the Congress platform

### Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha

He worked in close association with **Dadabhai Naoroji and Pheroze Shah Mehta** in the Congress. Along with his political activities, he was active in both social reform and education. He was the Secretary of the **Bombay Presidency Association** for thirty years (1885-1915) before he became its President (1915-18). He not only stands with Pheroze Shah Mehta as the **maker of the Bombay Municipal Corporation**, but also with Gopal Krishna Gokhale as the custodian and watchdog of the country's finance. He was among the moderates leaders. In 1897 he gave '**correct and adequate expression**' to the national view before the **Welby Commission in London**, pointing out that the financial embarrassment of the government of India was caused not by the falling rupee exchange but by the reckless increase in military and civil expenditure.

### 21st session 1905

Location – Banaras

President- Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Importance –

- expressed resentment against the partition of Bengal.

### 22nd session 1906

Location – Calcutta

President- Dadabhai Naoroji

Importance –

- The moderates invited Dadabhai Naoroji to come from England to preside over the session in order to counter the growing influence of the extremists. Naoroji declared Swaraj as the 'only and chief remedy'. The word 'swaraj' mentioned for the first time.

### 23rd session 1907 (Suspended)

Location – Surat

President- Rash Behari Ghosh

Importance –



- The 'Surat Split'-Congress Party splits into extremists and moderates

**Note:** With no meeting ground between the two sections of Congress (moderates and extremist), the **Surat Session** disintegrated into confusion and **eventually had to be suspended**. Thus **23rd session of Congress** was again held in Madras (Dec. 28-30, 1908) with Rash Behari Ghosh as the Presiding officer.

### 24th session 1909

Location – Lahore

President- Madan Mohan Malaviya

Importance –

- The Indian Councils Act of 1909's provision for separate electorates based on religion drew criticism.

### 25th session 1910

Location – Allahabad

President- Sir William Wedderburn

Importance –

- Along with the Congress, **Mohammad Ali Jinnah** strongly opposed the colonial government's proposal to create separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus in local governments.
- He stated that this would disturb the amicable relations between the two communities. It is ironic that Jinnah became the main champion of a separate Muslim state **two and a half decades later**.

### 26th session 1911

Location – Calcutta

President- Bishan Narayan Dar

Importance –

- The Congress congratulated Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian community in Transvaal on the repeal of the South African province's anti-Asian legislation during its Calcutta Session in 1911.

### 30th session 1915

Location – Bombay

President- Satyendra Prasanna Sinha

Importance –

- The Congress's constitution was appropriately changed to allow the delegates from the extremist section to be admitted (reunion of Congress factions), which was the main achievement of the 1915 Bombay Session.
- Tilak responded by announcing the willingness of his supporters to re-enter the Congress.
- As a result, the number of delegates rose to 2259 from 866 a year back.

### 31st session 1916

Location – Lucknow

President- Ambica Charan Mazumdar

Importance –

- The 1916 Lucknow Session symbolised both the breaking of ranks between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League as well as the unity of moderates and extremists inside the Congress. Lucknow Pact was signed.

### 32nd session 1917

Location – Calcutta

President- Annie Besant

Importance –

- The Congress got its first woman President at the Calcutta Session.

### (Special Session) 1918

Location – Bombay

President- Syed Hasan Imam

Importance –

- The Congress, at the Special Session in Bombay, termed the Montague-Chelmsford reforms as disappointing.
- It demanded a Declaration of Rights for the people of India and asserted that Indian legislatures should have the same measure of Fiscal Autonomy as the Self-governing Dominions of the Empire.

**34th session 1919**

Location – Amritsar

President- Motilal Nehru

Importance –

- The Congress expressed its deep solidarity with the people killed in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in the city earlier that year.
- Under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru, the Congress condemned the massacre in the strongest of terms.

**35th session 1920**

Location – Nagpur

President-C. Vijayaraghavachariar

Importance –

- In this session, the Congress sought to intensify the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- It urged merchants to boycott any foreign trade relations and urged government servants to help the national cause. The party also made certain important organisational changes
- The strength of the A I. C. C. increased to 350 and a Working Committee of 15 members was constituted.

**36th session 1921**

Location – Ahmedabad

President-Hakim Ajmal Khan (Acting President for C.R. Das)

Importance –

- Hakim Ajmal Khan was unanimously elected to preside over the Session in the absence of C.R. Das, who was in jail.
- Gandhiji was appointed as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invested with full powers of the AICC.
- Chairs and benches for delegates were eliminated and Khadi tents made their appearance for first time.

**37th session 1922**

Location – Gaya

President-Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das

Importance –

- In this session, Congress leaders debated on the merits and demerits of continuing its boycott of the government-created councils.
- While the 'no-changers' led by C. Rajagopalachari suggested continuing the boycott of legislative council, the Swarajists led by C.R. Das suggesting participating in the councils.
- Formation of Swaraj Party

**38th session 1923**

Location – Kakinada

President- Maulana Mohammad Ali

Importance –

- 'Our Swaraj must be Sarvaraj: the Raj of all... Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number,' the Maulana said during his presidential address.

**DO YOU KNOW?****Congress Seva Dal**

On January 1, 1923 the Seva Dal was established as the **Hindustan Seva Mandal** with Jawaharlal Nehru as its first president. According to the resolution at Kakinada, the Dal was to work under the supervision of the Congress party's working committee. **Umabai Kundapur** was the founding president of the women's wing of the Dal.

**39th Session 1924**

Location – Belgaum

President- M.K. Gandhi

Importance –

- Only Session presided over by Mahatma Gandhi



**40th session 1925**

Location – Kanpur

President- Sarojini Naidu

Importance –

- Sarojini Naidu became the second woman to preside over the Congress after Annie Besant.

**42nd session 1927**

Location – Madras

President- M.A. Ansari

Importance –

- At the 1927 Madras Session, the Congress resolved to boycott the Simon Commission “at each stage and in every form”.
  - Further, in a separate resolution, the goal of the Congress was defined: “the goal of the Indian people is **complete National Independence**”.
- Adoption of resolution on Purna Swaraj

**Bardoli Satyagraha**

On February 12 1928, **Sardar Patel** under Gandhi's leadership launched a Satyagraha in Bardoli against high taxes on farmers who were already reeling under floods and famine. It continued up till August 6, 1928, when an agreement was arrived at with the government.

**43rd session 1928**

Location – Calcutta

President- Motilal Nehru

Importance –

- During the Calcutta session, Gandhiji moved a resolution accepting the Motilal Nehru report's recommendation of **Dominion Status** within two years.
- However, Jawaharlal Nehru moved an amendment reiterating the Congress's commitment to independence.
- To arrive at a middle ground, the Congress gave the British a warning that a civil disobedience movement would start if India was not granted dominion status by December 31, 1929.

- All India Youth Congress was also formed

**44th session 1929**

Location – Lahore

President- Jawaharlal Nehru

Importance –

- In this session, the Congress went a step declaring Purna Swaraj (complete independence) as its ultimate goal.
- It was decided that **26 January was to be observed as 'Independence Day'**.
- Also, Civil Disobedience movement was launched and Gandhi- Irwin pact was endorsed.

**45th session 1931**

Location – Karachi

President- Vallabhbhai Patel

Importance –

- The Congress expressed its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru who were executed on March 23, 1931, while also voicing its disapproval of political violence.
- They declared the execution of the three young men to be an act of wanton vengeance.
- Also, the Congress adopted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy.
- Gandhi nominated to represent INC in the Second Round Table Conference to be held in London

**46th session 1932**

Location – Delhi

President- Amrit Ranchhorddas Seth

Importance –

- Despite Police vigilance, over 500 delegates attended the Congress session in Delhi in April 1932.
- Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President was arrested in-route.
- Four resolutions were passed reiterating complete Independence as the goal of the

Congress, endorsing the revival of Civil Disobedience, expressing complete faith in Gandhiji's leadership and reaffirming deep faith in non-violence.

#### 48th session 1934

Location – Bombay

President- Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Importance –

- A number of changes in the Congress constitution were affected at the Bombay Session in 1934.
- **Wearing of Khadi was made a necessary criterion** for elective membership. A cap of 2000 was put for the number of Congress delegates.
- C. C. was reduced to half its strength. The delegates were to be elected at the rate of 1 per every 500 primary members, thereby making them representatives of the people.

#### 50th session 1937

Location – Faizpur

President- Jawaharlal Nehru

Importance – First Congress Session in a rural area.

#### 51st session 1938

Location – Haripura

President- Subhash Chandra Bose

Importance –

- Towards the end of the session, there was a contest for who would be the president-elect for the next session between Netaji and Pattabhi Sittaramayya.
- Bose won with a margin even though Sittaramayya was seen as Gandhiji's nominee.
- National Planning Committee set up under Jawaharlal Nehru.

#### 52nd session 1939

Location – Tripura

President- Subhash Chandra Bose

Importance –

- The Congress met at Tripuri under special circumstances as president Subhas Chandra Bose was very ill and Gandhiji was fasting in Rajkot.
- As Bose was too ill to preside over some sittings, Maulana Azad conducted proceedings on his behalf.
- However, differences cropped up between Bose and a section of the Working Committee and Subash Chandra Bose resigned from his presidentship.
- Subhash Chandra Bose formed **Forward Bloc**

#### 53rd session 1940

Location – Ramgarh

President- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Importance –

- The Ramgarh Session was taken up entirely with the crisis brought about by the war and passed only one lengthy resolution on the issue.
- The Congress protested against the declaration of India as a belligerent country without any reference to the people and stated that the British government was carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends.
- The Congress also declared that nothing short of complete independence is acceptable.
- Civil Disobedience movement to be launched at appropriate time and circumstances.

#### Important events after Ramgarh Session

**Individual Civil Disobedience (Oct, 1940):** October 17 1940, Gandhiji launched the individual civil disobedience movement (as distinguished from the mass civil disobedience movement) with Vinoba Bhave as the first individual satyagrahi.

**Failure of the Cripps Mission (March 1942):** From March 22, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, carried out negotiations with the Congress seeking support from Indians for Britain in World War II. The Congress sought immediate and complete transfer of power. The negotiations, which came to an



end on April 11, 1942, failed as the British did not agree to the demand.

**Quit India Movement (Aug 1942):** The Quit India movement marked the beginning of the last phase of British rule in India. Starting from the August Kranti Maidan, the movement spread like wildfire through the country, culminating with India's Independence in 1947.

**Provisional Govt of Free India (Oct, 1943):** On October 21, 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose founded the Provisional Government of free India. It was recognised by nine world powers including Germany, Italy, Japan and Myanmar. It declared war against Britain and the U.S.A.

**Shimla Conference (June, 1945):** Starting June 25, 1945, Lord Wavell negotiated with Indian leaders for Indian support to fight to the II World War. In return, he proposed to set up an interim government comprising Indians after the war, which would also draft a new constitution. The negotiations, which went on till July 14, 1945, failed to bring consensus between the Congress and Muslim League.

### 54th session 1946

Location – Meerut

President- J.B. Kripalani

Importance – This was the last session before independence.

## INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR DETAILS

Name	Founder	Details
Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha (1836)	Associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It worked for administrative reforms, the association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education and helped in arousing general will and laying down a path towards modern nationalism among the masses.</li> </ul>
Landholders Society (1838)	Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore and Radhakant Deb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In July 1838, the "Zamindari Association", also known as the "Landholders Society", was established to safeguard the interests of the landlords.</li> </ul>
Bengal British India Society (1843)	William Adam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It advocated improving the situation of Indians by letting the world know about the extreme circumstances in which the British were keeping the Indians.</li> </ul>
The British Indian Association of Calcutta (1851)	Formed by merging the Bengal Landholders Society and British India Society together in 1851.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This organization used to submit petitions addressing the grievances of common people.</li> </ul>
The Deccan Association (1852)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In February 1852 as a further expansion of British India Association, the Deccan Association was established at Poona.</li> </ul>
Madras native association (1852)	Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The association was a platform for educated Indians to protest against any injustice on the part of the British.</li> </ul>
The Bombay Association (1852)	Jagannath Shankarsheth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This was the first political organization in Bombay presidency. It was established to vent the grievances to the British</li> </ul>

Name	Founder	Details
East India Association (1867)	Started by Dadabhai Nawrojee in London.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It advocated for generating awareness among people of the UK about the conditions in India and generate popular support among British People for Indian well-being.</li> </ul>
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870)	M.G. Ranade, G.V. Joshi, S.H. Chiplankar and his associates.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It has the objective of serving as a bridge between the Government and the people.</li> </ul>
Indian League (1875)	Sisir Kumar Ghose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The aim of India league was to instill the feeling of Nationalism amongst the people.</li> </ul>
Indian National Association (Indian Association of Calcutta) (1876)	Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This association was aimed to unify Indian people on a common political programme and create a strong public opinion on political questions.</li> </ul>
Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884)	M. Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer, and P. Ananda Charlu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To co-ordinate the activities of local association and to 'provide a focus for the non-official intelligence spread up through the Presidency'</li> </ul>
Bombay Presidency Association (1885)	Pherozshah Mehta, K.T Telang, and Badruddin Tyabji	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was founded in response to Lytton's reactionary policies and the Ilbert Bill controversy.</li> </ul>

## NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Year	Newspapers and Journals	Founder/Editor
1780	Bengal Gazette	James Augustus Hickey
1789	Bombay Herald (First Paper from Bombay)	William Ashburner
1818	Digdarshana (Monthly megazine Bengali)	J C Marhman
1818	Samachar Darpan ( vernacular ( Bengali) newspaper (weekly))	William Carey J C Marhman
1821	Sambad Kaumudi (weekly in Bengali)	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
1822	Mirat-ul-Akbar (First journal in Persian)	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
1822	Banga-Duta (A weekly in four languages- English, Bengali, Persian, Hindi)	Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore
1826	Udant Martand (First Hindi newspaper)	Jugal Kishore Shukla
1838	Bombay Times (from 1861 onwards, The Times of India)	Robert Knight and Thomas Bennett



## Miscellaneous

Year	Newspapers and Journals	Founder/Editor
1839	Sambad Prabhakar	Ishwar Chandra Gupta
1843	Tattwabodhini Patrika	Debendranath Tagore, Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar Datta
1851	Rast Goftar (Gujarati fortnightly)	Dadabhai Naoroji
1852	Vichar Lahiri	Krushnashastri Chiplunkar
1853	Hindoo Patriot	Girish Chandra Ghosh and Harish Chandra Mukerji
1858	Somprakash	Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan
1862	Indian Mirror	Devendra Nath Tagore and Manmohan Ghosh
1862	Bengalee (this and Amrita Bazar Patrika- the first vernacular papers)	Girishchandra Ghosh (taken over by SN Banerjea in 1879)
1863	Gram Barta Prokashika	Kangal Harinath Majumder
1864	Native Opinion	V.N. Mandalik
1867	National Paper	Nabagopal Mitra and Debendranath Tagore
1868	Amrita Bazar Patrika	Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh
1870	Bharat Sramajivi	Sasipada Banerji
1873	Bangadarshana	Robert Knight
1878	The Hindu	G. Subramania Iyer Suresh Nambath (Editor)
1881	The Tribune	Dayal Singh Majeetia
1881	Kesari (Marathi daily) and Maharatta (English Weekly)	B.G. Tilak Gopal Ganesh Agarkar V K Chiplunkar
1882	Swadeshamitram	G. Subramania Iyer
1883	Sanjibani journal	Krishna Kumar Mitra
1888	Sudharak	G.K. Gokhale
1890	Malayala Manorama	Kandathil Varghese Mappillai
1899	Udbodhan (Bengali publication of Ramakrishna Math)	Swami Vivekananda Editor – Trigunatitananda

Year	Newspapers and Journals	Founder/Editor
1900	O Heraldo (1st daily Portuguese newspaper)	António Messias Gomes
1903	Indian opinion (Natal province, South Africa)	M. K Gandhi
1905	The Indian Socialist (Started in London, from 1907 in Paris)	Shyamji Krishnavarma
1906	Sandhya	B.B. Upadhyaya
1906	Yugantar	Barinda Kumar Ghose
1906	Bharat Mata	Ajit Singh
1908	Free Hindustan (Vancouver)	Tarakanath Das
1909	Bande Mataram (Paris)	Madam Cama
1909	The leader	Madan Mohan Malviya
1910	Bombay Chronicle	Firoze Shah Mehta
1910	Talwar (berlin)	Birendra Nath Chattopadhyaya
1911	Comrade	Maulana Mohammad Ali
1911	The Hitavada	Gopal Krishna Gokhale
1911	Kerala Kaumudi	C. V. Kunhiraman
1912	Al-Hilal	Abul Kalam Azad
1913	Al-Balagh	Abul Kalam Azad
1913	Hindustan Ghadar (San Francisco)	Lala Hardayal
1914	New India	Annie Besant
1919	Independent	Motilal Nehru
1919	Tarun Bharat (Belgaum, Marathi newspaper)	Baburao Thakur
1919	The Samaja (Cuttack, Odia newspaper)	Gopabandhu Das
1920	Mook Nayak (Marathi weekly)	B.R. Ambedkar
1922	Indian Socialist ( 1st communist Journal)	Shripad Amrit Dange
1922	Vanguard	M N Roy
1922	Anandabazar Patrika	Suresh Majumdar and Prafulla Sarkar
1923	Nava Kaal (Marathi daily)	Prabhakar Khadilkar
1923	Mathrubhumi	K. P. Kesava Menon



Year	Newspapers and Journals	Founder/Editor
1924	The Hindustan Times	KM Pannikar as a part of Akali Dal Movement
1925	Kudi Arasu (Tamil magazine)	Periyar E. V. Ramasamy
1926	Future of Indian Politics (Communist Journal)	M N Roy
1932	Harijan	M. K Gandhi
1936	Hindustan	M.M. Malviya
1941	Dawn	Mohammad Ali Jinnah

## IMPORTANT BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS

Name of the book	Author
India Divided	Rajendra Prasad
Life Divine	Aurobindo Ghosh
Ghulam Giri	Jyotiba Phule
Unhappy India	Lala Lajpat Rai
Causes of the Indian Mutiny	Sir Syyed Ahmed Khan
To all fighters of freedom, Why Socialism	J.P. Narayan
Pakhtoon	Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Problems of the East	Lord Curzon
Economic History of India	Romesh Chandra Dutt
A Nation in Making	Surendranath Banerjee
Pather Panchali	Bibhuti Bhushan Banerjee
Precepts of Jesus	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
A Gift of Monotheists	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
Satyarth Prakash	Swami Dayanand Saraswati
Anand Math	Bankim C. Chatterjee
Devi Chaudharani	Bankim C. Chatterjee
Sitaram	Bankim C. Chatterjee

Name of the book	Author
The Indian Struggle	S.C. Bose
Parivrajak	Swami Vivekananda
Poverty & Un-British Rule in India	Dadabhai Naoroji
The Spirit of Islam	Syyed Ameer Ali
The Hindu view of life	Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan
The Indian War of Independence	V. D. Savarkar
India Divided	Rajendra Prasad
The Discovery of India	Jawahar Lal Nehru
Neel Darpan	Dinbandhu Mitra
Hind Swaraj	M.K. Gandhi
What Congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables	B.R. Ambedkar

## POWER TUSSLE BETWEEN EUROPEANS

The timeline of the Advent of the Europeans in India from 1498:

Year	Event
1498	Arrival of the Portuguese in India in Calicut, Kerala
1602	Arrival of the Dutch (Netherlands) in Masulipatam, Andhra Pradesh
1608	Arrival of the Britishers in Surat, Gujrat
1616	Arrival of the Danes in Tranquebar, Tamil Nadu
1664	Arrival of the French in Pondicherry

## The Portuguese

Year	Battle	Result
1509	Battle of Diu - Portuguese (Francisco De Almeida) vs the combined Armies of Gujarat-Sultan, Egyptian Mamluk Sultan, Zamorin.	Portuguese won
1612	Battle of swally - Portuguese vs British	Britishers won



Year	Battle	Result
1602-1663	<b>Dutch- Portuguese war</b> (Kingdom of Portugal vs Dutch Republic)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of the Dutch Empire</li> <li>• Portuguese Restoration War</li> <li>• Portuguese victory in <b>Brazil, Angola, Goa and Macau</b></li> <li>• Dutch victory in <b>Ghana, Malacca, Sri Lanka and Indonesia</b></li> <li>• Both sides claim victory in India</li> </ul>
1638	<b>Battle of Goa - Portuguese vs Dutch</b>	Portuguese won
1752	<b>Naval Battle of Calicut (Portuguese vs Marathas)</b>	Portuguese won

### The Dutch

Year	Battle	Result
1602-1663	<b>Dutch- Portuguese war</b> (Kingdom of Portugal vs Dutch Republic)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of the Dutch Empire</li> <li>• Portuguese Restoration War</li> <li>• Portuguese victory in <b>Brazil, Angola, Goa and Macau</b></li> <li>• Dutch victory in <b>Ghana, Malacca, Sri Lanka and Indonesia</b></li> <li>• Both sides claim victory in India</li> </ul>
1652-54	<b>First Anglo-Dutch war</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Treaty of Westminster</li> </ul>
1665 -1667	<b>Second Anglo-Dutch war</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Treaty of Breda</li> </ul>
1672 -1674	<b>Third Anglo-Dutch war</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Treaty of Westminster</li> </ul>
1781-84	<b>Fourth Anglo-Dutch war</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Treaty of Paris</li> </ul>

### The Britishers

Year	Battle	Result
1746 -1748	<b>First Carnatic War (English vs French)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In exchange for Louisburg in North America, the English received Madras back.</li> <li>• French hegemony in South India was established by Dupleix using European armies' superiority to influence Indian princes.</li> </ul>

Year	Battle	Result
1749 –1754	Second Carnatic War (There were several claimants for the posts of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of the Carnatic, each supported by either the British or the French)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• French gained the Northern Circars</li> <li>• His successor, Charles-Robert Godeheu, signed the Pondicherry Treaty.</li> <li>• As per the treaty, the English and the French were to indulge only in commercial activities in India</li> </ul>
1757-1763	Third Carnatic War or Battle of Wandiwash (English vs French)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British victory</li> <li>• In India, French hopes of building an empire were shattered.</li> <li>• This established Britain as the paramount European power in India</li> </ul>
1764	Battle of Buxar (Mir Qasim, Shuja-Ud-Daulah and Shah Alam II vs British)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British victory</li> <li>• English became a great power in northern India.</li> <li>• Midnapore, Burdwan, and Chittagong were given to the English for the maintenance of their army by Mir Jafar.</li> <li>• Except for salt, English was allowed duty-free trade in Bengal.</li> <li>• Treaty of Allahabad.</li> </ul>
1767–1769	First Anglo-Mysore War (British vs Hyder Ali)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hyder Ali won</li> </ul>
1780-84	Second Anglo-Mysore War (British vs Hyder Ali)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Arcot, Hyder Ali allied with the Nizam and the Marathas and defeated the British forces.</li> <li>• Treaty of Mangalore</li> </ul>
1790-92	Third Anglo-Mysore War (British vs Tipu Sultan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Treaty of Seringapatam</li> </ul>
1799	Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (British vs Tipu Sultan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Tipu died</li> <li>• Mysore entered into subsidiary alliance</li> </ul>
1775-82	First Anglo-Maratha War (British vs Marathas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maratha won</li> <li>• East India Company retained Salsette and Broach</li> <li>• The Marathas also promised that they would not grant any more territories to the French.</li> <li>• Following the Treaty of Purandhar, all British territories in India were reclaimed by the Marathas</li> </ul>
1803-05	Second Anglo-Maratha War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Scindias signed the Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon in 1803.</li> <li>• Bhonsles signed the Treaty of Deogaon in 1803.</li> <li>• Holkars signed the Treaty of Rajghat in 1805</li> </ul>



Year	Battle	Result
1817-18	Third Anglo-Maratha war	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Peshwa surrendered in 1818.</li> <li>• Scindias signed Treaty of Gwalior</li> <li>• Holkar signed Treaty of Mandasor.</li> <li>• This war led to the end of the Maratha Empire.</li> </ul>
1845-46	First Anglo-Sikh War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• Treaty of Lahore, 1846</li> </ul>
1848-49	Second Anglo-Sikh War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British won</li> <li>• British annexed Punjab in March 1849 as part of the Lahore Treaty.</li> </ul>
1944	Battle of Imphal (British vs Imperial Japan, Provisional Govt. of Free India (Azad Hind))	British won

## The French

Year	Battle	Result
1746 –1748	First Carnatic War (English vs French)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In exchange for Louisburg in North America, the English received Madras back.</li> <li>• French hegemony in South India was established by Dupleix using European armies' superiority to influence Indian princes.</li> </ul>
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## WOMEN PERSONALITIES DURING FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Name	Contributions in Indian Freedom Struggle
Rani Lakshmi Bai	<p>Rani Laxmibai had a great contribution in India's freedom struggle. Laxmibai is known by her bravery and courage to make India independent from British rule.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As the adopted child was not considered to be her natural heir, the British Government ordered Laxmibai to leave Jhansi and her rule. Lord Dalhousie sought to annex Jhansi after the death of Maharaja Gangadhar Rao applying the Doctrine of Lapse policy.</li> <li>As regent of her minor son, Rani Laxmibai ruled over Jhansi during the first 1857 revolt of Independence in Meerut.</li> <li>Sir Hugh Rose forced the British forces to capture Jhansi in 1858. He demanded to handover the Jhansi to him but Laxmibai refused this proposal.</li> <li>Rani Laxmibai said to Britishers that "We fought for Independence. In the words of Lord Krishna, we will if we are victorious, enjoy the fruits of victory, if defeated and killed on the field of battle, we shall surely earn eternal glory and salvation."</li> <li>The British started an attack on Laxmi Bai's army. Rani fought courageously against Britishers and finally she lost Jhansi. The fight continues for two weeks.</li> <li>Rani Laxmibai tied her infant son to the back and then fought the Britishers.</li> <li>After losing Jhansi Rani successfully captured the Gwalior Fort along with Tatya Tope and other rebel soldiers.</li> <li>Rani Laxmibai lost his soldiers in the fight and finally Rani Laxmibai died while fighting in Gwalior on 18th June 1858, aged 29.</li> </ul>
Sarojini Naidu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Following the partition of Bengal in 1905, Sarojini Naidu commenced to play an energetic function in the Indian independence movement.</li> <li>Her assembly with leaders, which included Mahatma Gandhi, Gopal Krishna Gokhale (Born on May nine 1866) and Rabindranath Tagore., spurred her directly to paintings towards the British Colonial authorities and toward social reform.</li> <li>Between 1915 and 1918, she travelled the period and breadth of the United States to deliver lectures on social welfare, the emancipation of women in 1917.</li> <li>She helped withinside the formation of the Women's Indian Association (WIA).</li> <li>Later that year she could accompany her colleague Annie Besant, the president of the Home Rule League, in supplying the widespread suffrage for India in the front of the Joint Select Committee in London.</li> <li>Sarojini Naidu took component withinside the Salt March with Mahatma Gandhi and became arrested through the British government in conjunction with all of the Congress leaders in 1930.</li> <li>As a result of the arrest, Congress withdrew from the London Round Table Conference which was taking place in the vicinity of the arrest.</li> <li>Following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931 however, Sarojini Naidu and different leaders could take part withinside the Second Round Table Conference.</li> <li>Naidu became one of the massive figures to have led the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement led through Gandhi.</li> <li>She confronted repeated arrests through the British government all through the time or even spent over 21 months in jail Following the Indian independence.</li> <li>Following the Indian independence, Sarojini Naidu became the first governor-general of Uttar Pradesh.</li> </ul>



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<b>Madam Bhikaji Cama</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In London, Bhikaji Cama met Indian nationalist Shyamji Krishna Varma, who is known for his speeches in Hyde Park.</li> <li>• She met Dadabhai Naoroji, The president of the British committee of the Indian National Congress.</li> <li>• Bhikaiji Cama moved to Paris where she founded the Paris Indian Society.</li> <li>• She wrote and distributed literature for the freedom movement while in exile, joining hands with the Indian diaspora fighting for independence.</li> <li>• One of the works she distributed included copies of the Bande Mataram which was banned by the British government in India.</li> <li>• She created literature that reached India through the Pondicherry French colony.</li> <li>• Bhikaiji Cama spoke at length about the devastating effects of British Colonialism at Stuttgart, Germany in 1907.</li> <li>• These effects included constant famine and crippling taxes that had ripped the Indian economy to shreds.</li> <li>• It was during this event when she unfurled the "Flag of Independence". The flag was designed by Bhikaiji Cama and fellow activist Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. The flag of independence would be the precursor to the current national flag of India.</li> </ul>
<b>Begum Hazrat Mahal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Begum Hazrat Mahal, or 'Begum of Awadh', was one of India's first female freedom fighters, leading the battle in the First Indian War of Independence in 1857.</li> <li>• Awadh was annexed by the British East India Company in 1856.</li> <li>• After the absorption of Awadh, a rebellion broke out at Meerut and the banner of revolt was raised in Lucknow which spread rapidly to other towns of Awadh.</li> <li>• Lucknow was the only place where the English did not leave the Residency building and faced the rebels until they were able to regain their lost power.</li> <li>• Her closest allies were Nana Saheb and Maulvi Ahmad ullah Shah. Outram and Havelock arrived from Kanpur to relieve the British Garrison in the Residency of Lucknow.</li> <li>• The victory of the English in Kanpur was another setback to her plans.</li> <li>• In the month of November Sir Colin Campbell, Commander in Chief of the British Forces along with a small reinforcement arrived at Lucknow.</li> <li>• Begum faced the enemy in a fierce fight but her position grew weaker. In spite of the resistance put up by the Begum, the English Commander was able to escort the besieged garrison out of the residency to Alum Bagh during which a few British officers were killed and wounded.</li> <li>• In March, British started operation against Lucknow under the command of Sir Colin Campbell.</li> <li>• By March 19, 1858, Moosabagh, Char Bagh, and Kesar Bagh were captured by the British.</li> <li>• Under adverse circumstances, Begum with her followers, her son Birjis Qadir and Nana Saheb escaped to Nepal.</li> </ul>

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Aruna Asaf Ali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• An active participant in the Indian independence movement, she is widely remembered for hoisting the Indian National flag at the Gowalia Tank maidan, Bombay during a Quit India Movement in 1942, giving the movement one of its most long-lasting image.</li><li>• She became a member of Indian National Congress and participated in public processions during the Salt Satyagraha.</li><li>• She was arrested, and not released in 1931 under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact which stipulated release of all political prisoners. Other women co-prisoners refused to leave the premises unless she was also released and gave in only after Mahatma Gandhi intervened.</li><li>• She was politically not very active after her release, until 1942. Known for her independent streak, she even disobeyed Gandhi's request to surrender herself in 1946.</li><li>• Post-independence, she remained active in politics, becoming Delhi's first Mayor. She was also awarded the Padma Vibhushan in 1992 and the Bharat Ratna posthumously in 1997.</li></ul>
Usha Mehta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Usha Mehta was a Gandhian and freedom fighter of India.</li><li>• In 1928, eight-year-old Usha participated in a protest march against the Simon Commission.</li><li>• On August 1942, Mehta along with her associates started the Secret Congress Radio.</li><li>• The radio broadcast the voice messages of Gandhi and several other leaders to the public. The station changed its place after every broadcast to avoid capture by the government.</li><li>• Congress Radio functioned for few months during the Quit India Movement of 1942.</li><li>• However, the police found them on November 1942 and arrested the organizers, including Usha Mehta.</li><li>• She was released in 1946 by the interim government in Bombay under the orders of the home minister Morarji Desai.</li><li>• She continued to spread the Gandhian ideals and was honoured with Padma Vibhushan in 1998.</li></ul>
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Motilal Nehru was her father.</li><li>• Her fight against the British rule led her to join the Non-Cooperation Movement.</li><li>• In 1940 and 1942, she was arrested for her involvement in the Quit India Movement.</li><li>• In the years following independence, she attended many conferences abroad on behalf of India.</li></ul>



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<b>Ratanben Mehta</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ratanben Mehta actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement and the civil disobedience movement.</li> <li>• She was a leader of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC) and a member of the managing committee of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha from 1929-1931.</li> <li>• Whenever Congress asked the public to carry out any of its mandates the Rashtriya Stree Sabha of Bombay was the one organization that although an independent women's organization according to its fixed program was ever ready to carry out Congress's behest.</li> <li>• After the Lahore Congress of December 1929, the Rashtriya Stree Sabha was searching for revival in Bombay. Efforts were made to ask the womanhood of the city once again to come out in larger numbers and work for the country. And consequently the 'Desh Sevika Sangh' was formed.</li> <li>• While there was great enthusiasm among the women volunteers of Desh Sevika Sangh, Ratanben Mehta was one of the leaders of these women who led almost 80 women in contraband salt production.</li> <li>• During the Salt Satyagraha, Ratanben and a few of her associates along with these women fetched sea water every morning and made salt.</li> <li>• Ratanben, during the Civil Disobedience movement, worked with Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay to uphold the boycott program of Congress.</li> <li>• She made speeches in Bombay prohibiting selling and drinking liquor. Thus, Ratanben, one of the enthusiastic workers of the Desh Sevika Sangh became an exemplary volunteer of BPCC (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee) and the Civil Disobedience movement and inspired other women to lead the movement.</li> </ul>
<b>Rani Gaidinliu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gaidinliu was born on January 26, 1915, in present-day Tamenglong district of Manipur and died in 1993.</li> <li>• The Naga spiritual and political leader, who led an armed uprising against the British in Manipur, Nagaland and Assam, belonged to the Rongmei tribe (also known as Kabui).</li> <li>• In 1927, at the age of 13, Gaidinliu, along with her cousin Haipou Jadonang, joined the Heraka movement, which aimed at revival of the Naga tribal religion and establish self-rule of the Nagas (Naga Raj) ending the British rule.</li> <li>• She was arrested in 1932 when she was just 16, and was sentenced to life imprisonment by the British rulers. Between 1932 and 1947, the Naga freedom fighter was kept at several prisons across the Northeast.</li> <li>• After being released in 1947 she continued to work for the betterment of the community. Nehru described Gaidinliu as the "daughter of the hills" and he gave her the title of 'Rani' for her courage. She was also awarded a Padma Bhushan.</li> </ul>

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Durgawati Devi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Durgawati Devi or Durga Bhabhi, also known as the 'The Agni of India'.</li> <li>• She had tremendous influence on revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh, Ashafaquallah and Chandra Shekhar Azad.</li> <li>• She also wielded a strong influence on the members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA).</li> <li>• Durgawati Devi was an active member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, and she assisted in the escape of Bhagat Singh from Lahore after the Saunders killing (1928).</li> <li>• She openly opposed the sentence awarded to Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru. She even sold her ornaments worth Rs. 3,000 in order to rescue Bhagat Singh and his comrades.</li> <li>• As a revenge for their hanging, Durga decided to kill Lord Hailey (ex-Governor of Punjab), who was also a staunch enemy of the revolutionaries. Although the Governor escaped, his aides were injured. She was arrested and awarded imprisonment for three years.</li> </ul>
Sucheta Kriplani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sucheta Kriplani, India's first woman chief minister, was a fearless fighter for the country's independence.</li> <li>• Sucheta came to the forefront during the Quit India Movement and was arrested by the British.</li> <li>• Gandhiji was highly impressed by her political dedication, and she worked closely with him during the partition riots.</li> <li>• She accompanied Gandhiji to Noakhali in 1946 and played a crucial role in the rehabilitation of refugees during the Partition of India by serving as a Secretary to the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee.</li> <li>• In 1947, on the eve of Independence, she sang Vande Mataram before Nehru's famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech in the Independence Session of the Constituent Assembly.</li> <li>• In 1963 — even before Indira Gandhi took office — she became chief minister of the United Provinces.</li> <li>• India's first woman chief minister.</li> </ul>
Accamma Cherian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accamma Cherian was born in a small hamlet in Kanjirapally, Travancore (present-day Kerala) in 1909. Though a teacher by profession, she quit her job to join India's freedom movement.</li> <li>• In Kerala, the freedom struggle was primarily led by the Travancore State Congress. The people of Travancore led by the Travancore State Congress decided to hold a public demonstration.</li> <li>• The Dewan of Travancore using his discretionary powers suppressed the agitation in August 1938. This gave birth to a Civil Disobedience Movement, the first of its kind in Kerala.</li> <li>• Leaders of the party were imprisoned, and the movement fell to pieces.</li> <li>• It is said that just before the arrest of the President of the party, he nominated Accamma Cherian as his successor as he found her to be a bold, daring, and charismatic woman.</li> <li>• She organized a massive rally to put pressure on the rulers to release the jailed leaders and to install a responsible government in Travancore.</li> <li>• In October 1938, Accamma was entrusted by the party to organise the Desasevika Sangh (Female Volunteer Corps). She travelled tirelessly across the country and appealed to the women to join as members of the Desasevika Sangh.</li> <li>• Her untiring efforts led to a surge in the number of women volunteers in the local bodies.</li> </ul>



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<b>Rajkumari Amrit Kaur</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the wake of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur became an outspoken critic of British rule.</li> <li>• Her involvement in the freedom struggle, as well as her focus on social reform, led her to join the Indian National Congress.</li> <li>• She actively campaigned against the devadasi system and the practice of child marriage.</li> <li>• Amrit Kaur was the co-founder of the All India Women's Conference which advocated better treatment of women in 1927.</li> <li>• She was arrested by the British following her participation in the Dandi March in 1930. Following her release, she went on to live an austere life at Mahatma Gandhi's ashram in 1934, despite her noble background.</li> <li>• Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was designated as a member of the Advisory Board of Education by the colonial authorities. However, she quit the board owing to her involvement in the Quit India Movement in 1942.</li> <li>• Her participation in the movement led to her imprisonment.</li> <li>• In 1945 and 1946, Amrit Kaur was a member of the India delegation at the UNESCO conferences in London and Paris.</li> </ul>
<b>Parbati Giri</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parbati Giri, one of Odisha's most prominent women freedom fighters, was called the Mother Teresa of Western Odisha for her work in the upliftment of her people.</li> <li>• At the age of 16 she actively involved in the Quit India Movement.</li> <li>• She adopted Gandhism as a way of life and her work manifested this virtue.</li> <li>• During 1940 she started organizing meetings and mobilised people to participate in Gandhiji's Khadi Andolan movement.</li> <li>• At Bargarh she ordered the lawyers to vacate the Court and stop cooperating with the British officials in legal matters.</li> <li>• She sat on the chair of the SDO posing as a judge and ordered other boys to bring the SDO tied with a rope for which she was jailed for 2 years.</li> <li>• She was called "Banhi Kanya" for her resilience and her aggressive nationalistic sentiments and free expression.</li> </ul>
<b>Tarkeshwari Sinha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As a 16-year-old student leader at Patna Women's College, Tarkeshwari Sinha was an active freedom fighter during the Quit India Movement.</li> <li>• Later she went on to become an eminent politician in the early decades of independent India.</li> <li>• She served as a member of then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's council of ministers, and was a four-time Member of Parliament.</li> <li>• Sinha was the first female deputy finance minister of India.</li> </ul>